

THE  
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER  
AND  
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

~~~~~  
JANUARY, 1844.  
~~~~~

ART. I. — EDITORIAL NOTICE.

UPON commencing a new series of the *Christian Examiner* the Editors may be allowed, or perhaps expected, to say a few words in explanation of the principles on which the work will in future be conducted. These principles are essentially the same that have guided the management of this journal in times past. We wish that it may still be the advocate of a liberal theology, and continue to vindicate the claims of practical religion. We intend that each number shall contain something which may address itself to the religious sentiment and to conscience, and may unfold the nature of the Christian life, while the character of Divine truth shall be exhibited and defended. We hope that the work may exert a quickening influence on its readers, and stir the heart as well as enrich the intellect. It will be perceived, therefore, that we do not mean to give it an exclusively theological character.

Theology however will hold its place in our journal, and this, we conceive, should be a prominent place. Every denomination must have its theology. Religion must be viewed on the side of the intellect, as well as of sentiment; it must have a doctrinal basis. Persons may for a time be

satisfied with feeling, with excited sensibilities, or with vague impressions, but in the end they will ask for clear and distinct views of religious truth, in which their minds may rest. They must have ideas as well as feelings, they must exercise intelligence as well as belief; reason must see firm ground on which to stand. Besides, the advance of the human mind, the progress of science, never greater than now, and the new aspects which the various subjects of thought are constantly presenting, render it impossible for theology to occupy an unchanged position, or to remain enclosed within the petrifications of the past. It must be alive; it must from time to time explain itself; it must grapple with the problems of the age; it must seek the kernel and marrow of great truths; "it must prove all things," that it may "hold fast that which is good."

Believing that a large portion of the community, and most certainly of those who will receive the *Examiner* into their houses, participate in these views of the importance of theology as the strength of correct sentiment and the foundation of a holy life, we cannot doubt that a due proportion of articles containing a full and thorough discussion of questions, which from their intrinsic character or from circumstances of temporary interest acquire prominence in this department of thought, will be acceptable to our readers; and such we shall endeavor to furnish. Articles of this kind, also, it may not be improper to remark, must from their length be excluded from our other religious journals, and will therefore find their most suitable place in this work.

Still we intend to give to theology only its due space. Other subjects, more or less remotely connected indeed with this, will receive the attention they may claim. Articles discussing the great principles of personal religion and social morality, and articles bearing upon Christian history and literature, will be sought from those who are best qualified to prepare them. These also may be thorough, and yet retain a character that shall adapt them to the great body of intelligent and inquiring readers. Questions which affect society in its moral relations we can never think foreign from the purpose of our journal. Politics we shall eschew, but do not mean to deprive ourselves of the right to bring public measures to the standard of that religion by



which public as well as private life, and national not less than individual action, should be controlled. The charge of partisanship in respect to any of the plans of benevolence which may be presented to the community we shall not be eager to draw upon ourselves, but neither shall we seek to avoid it by silence or equivocal language. Controversy we do not covet, but if occasion arise, we hope to be found ready to defend the faith which we prize next to the immortal soul for whose salvation and perfection that faith was given.

With the longer and more elaborate papers which we shall present to our readers we hope to furnish short articles, that shall give greater variety to the *Examiner*, and yet shall concur in producing the same effect, — the growth of an intelligent and earnest religious character. The union of the *Monthly Miscellany* with the *Christian Examiner* will justify our attempting to give a more popular cast to the work, by the insertion of pieces not less grave in sentiment but lighter in form. The change will not, we hope, displease the old friends of the *Examiner*. It seems to be demanded by the present taste, and has been urged upon us from various quarters. Our object will be to combine, in every number, two or three articles of solid excellence and permanent value with such articles of less laborious preparation as may be suggested by the immediate state of the public press and of public sentiment. We shall endeavor to give, under the head of Notices of new publications, some mention of every work proceeding from the denomination to whose interests this journal has been and will still be devoted, with occasional remarks upon publications coming from other sources. A very brief division of Intelligence will record ecclesiastical occurrences in which we feel most interest, with other religious or literary matter which we may collect for the same department, and a short obituary record will enable us to mention the deaths by which our churches may be bereaved.

In a single line, therefore, we may say, that it will be our purpose to exhibit the relation of Christianity, as we understand it, to the thought, sentiment, and practice of the age. We are Unitarians, and our journal must contribute its influence to the elucidation and diffusion of Unitarian Christianity. But we trust it will never betray dogmatism,

nor speak with bitterness. The application of the Gospel to the intellect, the heart, and the life—to the individual and to society—to the church and the world—is the problem which all sound thinkers and good writers, which the philosopher and the philanthropist, are alike concerned in bringing to its true solution, in the actual relation which Christianity shall be made to hold with all the wants and ways of humanity; and to the solution of this problem we wish that the *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* should contribute its part.

We may add that we undertake the charge of this work with the hope that it may be made a means of drawing into a closer union the members of our own body. We wish it to be considered the journal of no part of the denomination, but to be welcomed and used by all its different members. We shall be glad, if by allowing freedom of discussion and excluding only what would render our journal a mere collection of contradictory opinions, we may secure the approbation of our various friends. In regard to the admission of articles it is sufficient to repeat, that the leading views of our denomination will be sustained. But it is well known, that on several points there is some diversity of opinion among Unitarians, as there must be in every denomination which is faithful to the great Protestant principle of entire freedom of thought and expression. This diversity of opinion we are not only willing, but desirous should appear on our pages. We wish that the *Examiner* should be regarded as an organ through which the strongest and best minds among us may speak, and speak freely.

Of course, the Editors do not pledge themselves to insert every article which shall be sent to them. They claim the right, always exercised in the management of a public journal, of rejecting what is not suited to the purpose and character of the work under their charge, or is deficient in the requisite literary merit, or breathes a tone not in harmony with the spirit of Christian love, or is marked by any other defect or peculiarity which in their judgment renders its publication in the *Examiner* not desirable.

Exercising the liberty of inserting articles that shall express various opinions, we shall not feel ourselves bound to defend all the views that may be presented by writers whose communications we may admit. This we say once

for all, to prevent misconception, and to preclude a responsibility which we do not mean to bear. The initials of the writer being given, the credit or the burthen of the article rests mainly with him, and the opinions avowed are his opinions, and not necessarily the opinions of the Editors. There are certain principles which may not be violated; the work must possess a certain tone and character. This consistency requires. There must be a unity controlling diversity. But this is not incompatible with variety of opinion and criticism; and it is such an exhibition of diversity under a larger unity, which, we think, gives life and interest to a work of this sort, and, all will admit, is far better than a dead uniformity. We believe that all the principal Journals and Reviews of the day, and more especially those in which the initials of the writers are given, are conducted upon this view of editorial responsibility.

We might add, therefore, that while we hope the *Examiner* will represent the belief and sentiment of the denomination, individuals rather than the denomination must be held answerable for the opinions that may be advanced in its pages.

We need say nothing more — we trust we have not said too much — of the purposes we entertain and the principles by which we shall be guided. If we seem to magnify our office, let it be remembered what a place the *Christian Examiner* has always held in the public estimation. We are anxious that it should not lose the regard which it has enjoyed or the influence which it has exerted. For twenty years has it spoken in behalf of Christian truth, and through that whole period it has preserved consistency and dignity in union with liberality and ability. Thirty years ago the *Christian Disciple* began its work of “speaking the truth in love,” under the care of that apostolic man, Dr. Noah Worcester. In 1819, “on an extension of the original plan,” it passed into the hands of other conductors, and a new series, under the title of the *Christian Disciple and Theological Review*, took up more directly the task of “defending controverted religious truth,” and of expounding what was then little understood. In 1824 it was thought best “to adopt another title for the work, though without any considerable deviation from the plan” which had been previously followed, and the *Christian Examiner*



*and Theological Review* took the place of the *Christian Disciple*. In 1829, a new series was commenced, and the title was changed to *Christian Examiner and General Review*. In September, 1835, a third series was commenced, and new efforts were made to extend its circulation, though its plan and character continued the same. In September, 1842, some changes were made in the appearance and arrangement of the work, though still in continuation of the third series. Rev. John G. Palfrey, D. D., the late Rev. Francis Jenks, the late Rev. Francis W. P. Greenwood, D. D., Rev. James Walker, D. D., and Rev. William Ware, have been successive or associate editors through these several years. The present editors trust that a journal, which comes to them with such associations of interest from the place it has filled and the men by whom it has been conducted, from its connection with the history of the Unitarian denomination in this country through the whole course of that history, and from the character which its articles have always borne, will not suffer detriment in their hands, but will still be regarded with a favor which it shall continue to deserve. We ask the assistance of writers, and shall try to gain the approbation of readers, laboring, most of all, "to testify the Gospel of the grace of God," and to promote the spread of truth, holiness and love.

The first number of the year has formerly been published on the first of March. We have thought it best to begin with the year. Our present number therefore bears the date of January, and our second number will appear on the first of March.

We take this opportunity to ask the authors or publishers of works which should be noticed in this journal to send a copy to our office. We would especially urge this request in regard to sermons and other pamphlets, of which we might not otherwise be seasonably informed.

A. L.

E. S. G.



## ART. II.—ON THE SIGNS AND PROSPECTS OF THE AGE.

WE wish to offer in this paper some thoughts on the great controversy of the age, and in particular, some reasons why we believe that the cause of human welfare is gaining ground amidst all the perils of the time.

We would not be thought to give utterance to a mere sounding sentence, when we say, that in the history of the world there never was a time when all thinking minds were so pressed to the contemplation of a Providence over nations, as at the present moment. Human affairs seem to be approaching, if not actually passing through another of those great crises, which determine the fate of after centuries. To us, we confess, it appears, if we may venture to express our thought, like the winding up, the last act, in the great drama; to be followed by a thousand millennial years, or by ages of disaster and blood. All the grandeur of a momentous epoch is foreshadowed to us in the future, and with a form the most distinct, though less exact in time. Less violent and tremendous, less wild and tumultuous than the overthrow of the Roman empire; less brief and bloody than the French Revolution; the coming change will spread itself over a wider theatre and through remoter times.

What is the great controversy, on which this change is turning? It is the controversy about freedom; freedom political, social, religious. The conflict of men's minds already rages around this point. The warfare of opinion, long since predicted, has come; and we are in the midst of it. Nor ought it to surprise us. One single element introduced into the bosom of modern society warranted, and has fulfilled the prediction. That element was popular education. Everything was sure to follow from that. Every school, every printing-press, every book, every newspaper, gave omen and certainty of the result. Whoever likes this result, whoever likes it not, one thing is clear; nobody could help it. If it offends us, that men should ask for more freedom, for freer government, freer and fairer action of society and more independent exercise of opinion, let us go back to the true cause of offence, education. Nay, truly, we should go back one step farther, to be consistent, and find the original offence to be human nature

itself; and the very creation of it, a mistake! So true it is, that hostility to human freedom cannot stop short of impiety; and in fact, of atheism.

But now, that in this natural, enlightened, human tendency to freedom there are perils, is not to be denied. Peril ever goes hand in hand with progress. It is greatest, where man is greatest; that is, in his spiritual relation. It can be reduced to nothing; but only by bringing down humanity to the level of animal instinct. In short, this element, danger, *must* ever mingle with the action of imperfect natures, and it is for courage to meet and master it, not to succumb and sink beneath it.

This heart-sinking, however, is a striking feature of the present time. Within a few years past the party to fear has been growing apace, and is stronger at this moment perhaps, than it has been at any time since the world was temporarily shocked and alarmed by the outburst of the French Revolution. Even in America this party is strong; and in Europe, of course, it is far stronger. The retrograde movement of the English Church is partly of this nature, and even in the little republic of Geneva the same thing is witnessed. In England indeed it has connected itself with High-Church principles, and has proceeded farther than any conservative or panic movement of the day. But it is not merely in the Church that this fear is found, nor in the courts of absolute monarchs, nor in the pledged ranks of legitimacy, but in the secluded studies of philosophers, in the minds of many liberal thinkers. Many such are to be found who have, in fact, given up the cause of modern freedom; who have relinquished their high hopes and aspirations; who have fallen back upon the single prayer for security; who have come to the sad conclusion, that the world, that human nature is not good enough to be free. We have sat in the studies of such men and have listened to their mournful discourse. 'We had thought better things,' they said; 'we had hoped better things; but it was all a dream. No, it will never do. Innocent beings might have liberty; angels may have liberty; but men are not fit to be free. No; a strong, even an oppressive government must we have; one that will hold in check the struggling elements of our wild, reckless, depraved humanity.' Nay, not to speak of particular instances, we have

thought in general, that the liberal party in Europe, under the combined influence of disappointment and exasperation, is, at this moment, a harsher judge of the popular tendencies, if possible, than any other party. Even in Americans resident abroad, as well as at home, in those whose position called for a faithful support of their national principles, we have found a deep-seated distrust of them. On every account, therefore, this subject demands from some pen a thorough consideration; a more thorough one, doubtless, than we can now give it. And yet we have thought too, that in the present emergency the humblest mind, if it have any thing to offer, might justly throw its contribution into the scales of this great controversy.

We proceed therefore, to point out some of those signs of the time that seem to us to warrant good hope and confidence.

In the first place, then, it is a good augury, that this is a war of opinion, and not of force. Concessions to the popular cause are bloodless. There seems to be a feeling abroad in the world, that this great controversy is to be decided, not by arms, but by arguments; that the only force to be relied on, is the force of opinion. What the people demand, is not blood, but reform. They know that violence will not help, but must hurt their cause. They know that reform, from its very nature, must be gradual. They can wait. They have waited. They will wait. They have a habit of waiting. This has been most remarkably evinced, during the last twenty years, all over Europe. Every body sees that the popular cause must advance slowly. There is a tremendous weight of institution, usage, prejudice and actual power against it. It must take a long time to bring down the mountains and raise up the vallies; it is like changing the visible face of the world. It must be a work of toiling patience. There are no crises in it; at least none such as bereave men of their judgment, and drive them, maddened and despairing of other resource, into the conflict of arms. In short, the warfare of opinion, while it can be kept such, is one on which we can look with calmness and hope. We have that confidence in human reason, that we have in the individual mind. Give it light; give it freedom; give it a chance; and it will rise to truth, virtue and happiness. He that thinks it will not,



surrenders the cause not of freedom alone, but of humanity and of God.

In the next place, the intelligence that has brought on this controversy is every where powerfully pleading the cause of truth and order. The mass of intelligence has not gone over to the wrong side, but is on the right side. Look at England, at France, at Switzerland, at Germany, at America. The great names are on the right side. The strong men are *not* demagogues. If it be true that opinion propagates itself from the higher minds to those beneath, here is a principle and pledge of safety, a power that will always bring back the many from their temporary aberrations. It is not as in the French Revolution; when the most powerful minds were hurrying the multitude to misrule and madness. Let any gross and monstrous injustice be proposed to be done now on a large scale, such as the repudiation of the national debt of England or the spoliation of a privileged class, and we believe that the world would hear such a burst of indignant and eloquent remonstrance as it never heard before. Great reliance, it appears to us, may be placed on the cultivated intellect of the world in an age when opinion, not the sword, is the all-swaying power. It is naturally cautious, conservative, averse from violence, distrustful of popular impulses and afraid of brute strength. Would this intellect of the world fairly place itself at the head of the popular movement, truly sympathizing with what is right in it, and thus enabled to restrain what is wrong, it would fulfil a glorious office, and one ever to be rightfully demanded of superior intelligence. But if it will not take the lead of the age; if, instead of guiding the chariot of the morning, it will forever hang on its wheels, we may take the comfort of reflecting that it is a powerful safeguard of the world, if nothing better.

In the third place, that better reliance, the religion, the faith of the world, is not dying out, as is often alleged, but is growing purer and deeper and stronger. We must dwell upon this topic a little; for in truth, the allegation, if it can be sustained, is fatal to all hope.

We have always been hearing, ever since we could read, of the decline of religion, and the dying out of faith. And not faith only, but all reverence, all enthusiasm, all poetry,



eloquence and liberal art, it is said, are giving way before the rude step of utilitarian vulgarity and an iron materialism. A decadence of genius; a dead faith and a dead Christianity; a poor, barren, lifeless Church, shaken by the hands of a hundred contending sects; a weak, inert, unwieldy creed, fast sliding down to the gulf of utter oblivion; an old, decayed, nerveless authority, whose sceptre is just dropping into the clutching hands of a mad and reckless multitude; such is the picture of our time, with which not a few persons entertain their fancy and adorn their pages.

This complaint, we might say, carries with it its own refutation. A dead Church would be scarcely so alive to its condition. A prevailing materialism would be found to be a much quieter thing, we imagine, than the dissatisfaction that is now stirring in the bosom of all communities. No; when Christianity dies, nobody will know it! When that majestic presence passes away, it will pass unquestioned, unchallenged, unseen; for then will the spiritual eye of the world be closed in midnight slumber!

But what, then, is the truth in regard to the matter of this complaint? This we hold it to be; that creeds, dogmas, formulas, implicit reliances, unexamined opinions, are losing their hold of the world—but not faith. It is the failure to make this discrimination that we object against the able and eloquent chapter of Jouffroi on this subject; the chapter, we mean, on skepticism in his *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*. It is true that faith in the lower sense, superstitious faith, nursery faith, Church faith, is losing ground, is losing vitality; but of the higher, the genuine Christian faith, we deny that this is true. So of all lofty aspiration, of poetry and enthusiasm, it may be truly said, that they have changed their form, but not that they have lost their power. They are not aroused at the clash of arms, at the Crusader's call, at deeds of chivalry or shows of kingly grandeur, as they once were. We do not think that they pay the same kind of homage even to great and noble men as formerly; the homage is less reverential, more hearty, as we judge. But assuredly we may ask without fear,—when, ever since the world stood, was such a flood of enthusiasm, of sympathy poured into all the channels of universal human well-being? We do not believe that the admiration for noble architecture, for beautiful paintings

and statues, is failing in the world — not at all; but we are certain that the admiration for noble hospitals, for comfortable asylums to receive the blind, the deaf, the insane, the forlorn and miserable, for institutions of learning and education, from the lofty University to the lowly Sunday school, is growing and spreading in the world beyond all former example.

The present state of the world in regard to faith may be illustrated, we think, by the condition of many individual minds in it. Many of us know, doubtless, what is to be understood by a decay of old *faiths* in our minds. The impressions of our childhood, the teachings of our catechisms, the dogmas of our earlier creeds, have, to a certain extent, been yielding and giving way before maturer examination and better lights. To all free and intelligent seekers after truth this result is inevitable. To maintain the contrary of this, would be to aver that our manhood is no wiser than our childhood. But we know too, that all this while our confidence in eternal truth, in vital religion, in essential Christianity, has been growing deeper and stronger. And is this, then, to be represented as a decay and a dying out of faith in our minds? And yet this is a type of what Jouffroi calls a decline of faith in the world.

In truth, it was the latter part of the last century that might bear, more justly, the burthen of this reproach. Now, there is every where a reaction against the coldness and skepticism and scorn of the last century. We see it in science; how much more reverential and alive to spiritual truths, than in the days of Buffon and La Place! We see it in philosophy; which takes its point of departure, not as it did a century or two ago, from the outward world, but from the inward world; not from the facts of sensation, but from the facts of spiritual consciousness. We see it in ethics, in moral essays; compare Coleridge and Taylor and Channing, with Addison and Steele. We see it in poetry; how much deeper is the spiritualism in Southey and Wordsworth, than in Pope and Dryden! But especially in religion, strictly so called, there is the most manifest reaction. We find it in various parts of Europe. We find it in France; least and last to be expected there. For France seemed determined, at one time, to solve the problem whether a nation could live

without a religion. Yes, and the problem *has* been solved, in the teeth and to the mouth-stopping of all its infidel boasts. The regeneration of faith and piety has commenced in that country, with most striking and encouraging omens. The Protestants are arousing and combining for the propagation and protection of the Reformed Religion. It is a remarkable fact too, in connection with the Protestant effort, that Bibles are circulated, by special agents appointed for that purpose, all over France. But the most striking indication of this change, perhaps, is seen in the resurrection of crushed, despised and neglected Romanism in that country. Two years ago we found the Catholic churches of Paris, unlike what we had witnessed ten years before, crowded with worshippers; and we heard from their pulpits constant and familiar allusions to the great reaction. It was to us a striking fact, during the same winter, that a peer of France, in his place in the Chamber, came out with a strong denunciation of the Government and country for their neglect of religion, saying that it was the basis of everything sound and good in a State and in society, and that as France had departed from that ground, she was suffering calamities, and continuing to swerve from it, must expect to suffer them. It was a strange language to hear in the Chamber of Peers. It was a high and solemn protest against the experiment which France had made to live without a religion. At the same time, we found the Archbishop of Paris, in his annual New Year's address to the King, urging a stricter observance of the Sabbath, and denominating the Queen, on account of her piety, "the tutelary genius of her family." Of a similar character is the attack of the Bishops upon the University of Paris. Whether justified by circumstances or not — whether Cousin and his brother professors are or are not infidels and atheists — it is certainly a very remarkable onset of religion upon philosophy.

To take a wider view, for a moment; the Catholic religion is everywhere arousing itself to new efforts; doubtless with the intent in part to recover its lost powers and provinces, but certainly in a spirit accordant with the lights and claims of the age. Thus we find its leading writers admitting that in the time of the Reformation there was need of reform, and only maintaining that that reform should and



could have taken place in the bosom of the mother Church. In Rome we found, last winter, Sunday schools in every church, and free schools in every street. Mr. Laing states in his *Journal*, that there are 14,000 children in the common schools of Rome, under the care of 485 teachers; not a small number certainly in a population of an hundred and fifty thousand. In Lent, we observed that the religious instruction of the children was the *daily* care of the churches. We often saw groups of children passing through the streets to the churches; a small wooden cross, the emblem of Christianity, borne by one of their number, to lead them to the holy place; and when assembled there, we saw them in apparently the most happy and affectionate intercourse with the priests and catechists. It was a striking thing to witness; in the broad aisles of St. Peter's, beneath those majestic arches, amidst that marble world of magnificence — the music of the vesper hymn floating through its solemn domes, and kneeling worshippers all around — to witness, we say, these companies of children gathered within temporary palings; the lambs of the flock in the fold of the shepherd; not gazing with innocent wonder upon the splendor around them, but rather with a look of gay unconsciousness, like that with which we, grown up children, stand amidst the majesty and music and wonder of the earth and sky.

In the last place, let us consider, not merely the corrective and saving principles of the age, but the positive results at which it has arrived; manifested in the increase of comfort, the spread of happiness, and the elevation of virtue; and springing from the advances of mechanic art, philanthropic enterprise, and a gradual reform in the whole ideal of life and duty. And these results, too, have not come out of the bosom of chance, but out of the freer mind and freer heart of the world.

There is one power then, much misapprehended, seemingly inert, at most material, which is helping and heaving the world onward, and that is the power of mechanism. Promotive of human comfort, knowledge and intercourse, diffusing these blessings beyond all former example, it must be a power for good — a power friendly to justice, freedom and happiness. It is a power without passions; it works with the certainty of fate; and it is a lever strong enough to



lift the world. In the war of opinion, we hear of many obstacles, many foes to the right, to justice and freedom. We hold the locomotive steam-engine alone to be an argument good against them all. It is a battering-ram to beat down all the barriers of caste, of prescription and oppression. But it will not beat down alone; it will bear, through the breaches it makes, knowledge and comfort, over the wide realms within. It is like the wheel in Ezekiel's vision, ay, a wheel in the midst of a wheel; and "I looked and behold," says the prophet, "a great cloud, and a fire unfolding itself, and a brightness was about it; and it ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning." The locomotive engine is the very type and fulfilment of the promise, that "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased."

It were making but a poor and literal induction to say, that the age grows more mechanical, because mechanism is increased. In fact it grows more spiritual. Such, at least, is the natural tendency of mechanic invention; and that by a very obvious process. First, it takes off the pressure of labor. That is the primary object of all mechanism; to relieve the toiling hand. The hoe, the spade and plough do that; but the cotton-gin, or the steam-engine enables one hand to do the work of hundreds. But we hear it said, that labor is not relieved. Nay, we answer, the amount of product being the same, it is relieved. What then? Next then, we say that mechanism multiplies indefinitely the comforts of life; and with the increase of comforts, not luxuries, we believe, that usually the mind's freedom and culture rise. At any rate, it is plain that if the production of comforts and conveniences stood where it did a hundred years ago, the pressure of toil *would* be lightened. If the demand for comfort has kept pace with improvement in the arts, nay, and has even surpassed it, that, we hold, is not a degrading, but an elevating tendency. Individuals, classes, may temporarily suffer; but the mass, in the long run, must rise.

Is it, however, an unreasonable anticipation that the time will come, when art and labor together will obtain the complete ascendancy; when art will so help labor as effectually and inevitably to relieve it? There must be some limitation to physical comfort. There must come a time, when there

can be no better fabrics for apparel; no more nor better furniture for our houses; no more nor any more perfect accommodations for travelling; no more ministrations to comfort of any sort. But to art, to improvement, there is no limit. We confess therefore, that we do not feel ourselves chargeable with any extravagant anticipation, when we see the labor of some future time accomplishing all that can be demanded of it, by the devotion of six hours in a day.

What then shall be done with the surplus time? This brings us to another point; and we say that mechanic art ministers to the promotion of knowledge. What is wanting for the high intellectual improvement of mankind? Time to read, and books to read. Art will give both. It will give leisure; it will give some hours every day for reading. And it will give books at so cheap a rate, that they will come within the reach of all. But we check ourselves; we are not to draw upon the future. Nor is it necessary. Books scarcely need be or can be cheaper than they are now.

What a change has the printing-press wrought! There have been times when an estate was bartered for a manuscript volume; when a hundred crowns of gold were pawned for the loan of it. A book of homilies, that could now be printed for two or three shillings, once cost a Countess of Anjou, we are somewhat minutely told, two hundred sheep, a quantity of martin skins, and we know not how many bushels of wheat and rye into the bargain. We read of a poor grammarian who rebuilt his house, that was burnt, with two volumes of Cicero. And now works as voluminous as those of Cicero, could be bought in this country with the labor of two or three days. The lever of the printing-press is, in the world of mind, the very lever of Archimedes; it will lift the mind out of the sphere of all past imagination.

One further point under this head remains to be noticed, and that is the tendency of mechanic inventions to enlarge human intercourse.

The arrival of steam-ships in this country from England, some years since, naturally and powerfully excited the public mind. In fact, it opened to us a new world. This grand achievement of mechanic art is undoubtedly to make a new world. It is to bring all nations into neighborhood, and we trust, into amity. The Atlantic and

Pacific seas are hereafter to be but great bays, and all around their spreading shores the chain of intercourse is to extend, and to bind cities and countries together.

One tendency of this new communication will be, we say, to bring to an end the bloody wars that have desolated the world. It will not be easy to enter into these destructive conflicts with neighbors and friends; and these must more and more become the actual relations of different countries. We know that there have been *civil* wars, and that they have been among the most relentless and sanguinary. But the truth is, that people of the same nation have had less acquaintance and sympathy with one another, than the people of different nations will yet come to have. Besides, as has been observed by a distinguished statesman, all defences of cities and shores must become vain and useless before the activity and force of steam-vessels. They can penetrate into all inlets, estuaries, bays and harbors, at all times; and thus war at sea, as well as war on land, is likely to be destroyed by that which has enabled it to destroy nations — the perfection of its own tactics.

The extension of intercourse, too, must be beneficial, by keeping each nation informed of all the improvements and better modes of thinking that prevail among the rest. Human thought, the grand improver, shall now have utterance. The winds of all seas and all shores shall take it up and bear it over the world. It shall no longer sleep in the wise man's study, or brain. It has been said that there has always been wisdom enough in the world, could it have been expressed; that diffusion was what even the dark ages needed, more than light; that enough knowledge was sequestered in obscure laboratories and dim cells, to have renovated the world, could it have had the potent aid of the printing-press and the rail-road and the steam-ship. But now shall it be diffused; and if men do not see, it shall not be for the want of light. But was light *ever* opened to the eye, and the eye did not turn to it? Never. Then shall men see, and learn, and grow wise.

We do not regret nor dread, that our own country shall, by this means, be better known. We do not regret that the waves of the Atlantic are bridged over, and that the curtain of the wilderness is lifted up, and a theatre here opened on which the eyes of the world shall look. If the



great experiment which we are making here, on the basis of a free state and a free religion, is to come to naught, the sooner the world knows it, the better. But if, as we believe, this experiment is to come to a happy and glorious issue; if it can help, happily, to settle the questions that are agitating, and may yet rend the bosom of Europe; if a nation can be free and sober — can be free and self-restrained — can be free and happy; ay, and can improve under this condition beyond all former example; then is it meet that the world should know this to be true; then is there no knowledge of the human condition in the world, so important as this very knowledge. May our American example — and we say it with no personal exultation, but in humility; nay, and in the solemnity and depth of prayer do we say it — may our American example go forth to be a light and a blessing to all mankind!

The next great feature of the age is philanthropic enterprise. This is one of the positive results of the new principles that are now abroad in the world. Can that be a very dark age on which such lights are thickly rising? We will not point them out in detail. We will not tamely enumerate the charitable institutions of our time; but we ask triumphantly — what class of our unfortunate, suffering, and hitherto neglected fellow-beings has not come under this humane consideration? What wanderer upon the sea, or upon the land, doth not Christian pity now follow and offer to relieve? We are speaking of the general direction of philanthropy, and of classes of men too in general, and so speaking, we say — who now in the world is pining in hopeless and forgotten misery? Who is blind, and the hand of mercy is not stretched out to touch his eye-lids and make him see, or to supply by all possible means the destitution of sight? Who is deaf and dumb, and that hand hath not clothed itself with skill to devise for him the means almost of speech and hearing? Who is in prison, and his gloomy cell hath not been visited — not as of old, with the despot's prying eye, through loop-holes, to gloat upon his misery — but visited to make comfort and correction go hand in hand to reform him? Who is there that hath had the light of reason stricken from the watch-tower of life — and that hath said, when he felt that light to be departing from him, 'Oh! pity me,



and use me gently !' — who that is such an one, hath not had the oil of gentleness poured into the wounds which the galling chain had made ? And again ; what land hath not been visited by the Christian missionary ? And how many at home, who sat apart, in the cheerless and long unvisited dwelling of poverty, have heard a voice, strange and almost startling — strange and melting in its tones — the voice of brotherly sympathy and counsel ! Almost, might we think, there is a second advent of mercy into the world. "The blind receive their sight and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them."

But the greatest enterprise and the most hopeful omen of the age, perhaps, is the Temperance Reform. Here is a moral miracle. A nation, a world was fast sinking into the gulf of sensual perdition. How stupendous, and almost hopeless, must have seemed to the first reformers, who stretched out their hands to stay that downward course, the work they had undertaken ! But they entered upon it ; they went forward ; and what is the result ? Within five years the entire conscience of the world, of the Anglo-Saxon world at least, is penetrated ; a new sentiment, a new fear, a new set of moral maxims is wrought into the heart of nations ; millions have joined in this work, — for we do not reckon the pledged men alone ; new laws have been framed, new legal restraints devised, new domestic usages have been introduced ; and it may be hoped that the plague is stayed. We do not intend in these remarks to make ourselves responsible for every proceeding that has been adopted in this reform. What most strikes our attention and fills us with astonishment, is this, — that such an impression in behalf of morality could have been made upon whole countries, in so brief a space of time. It is altogether more surprising than the effect produced by the preaching of Peter the Hermit. The Crusades to the Holy Land, which he recommended, were entirely in accordance with the warlike, chivalric and superstitious spirit of the age. But here, our reformers have made head *against* the settled habits and, often too, the incensed passions of the people. If *this* could be done, *any thing* can be done. The success of the Temperance cause, is a signal and glorious pledge for any thing

reasonable and just, that good men may desire to undertake.

In this representation of the philanthropic labors of the day we have had no desire to exaggerate. We are sensible of many defects, and some dangers in our benevolent systems. We believe that they have yet far to advance in their wisdom and efficiency. But still we must say that this is a most extraordinary spectacle—the philanthropy of the world, awaking and arising to remove all evil, to relieve all sorrow. In such an age, and in regard to such an age, we cannot be cynics. We cannot sit down in some dark corner, or amidst old habitudes of thought, and find nothing to do but to bewail the evils of the time. No; we must rather thank God, that we live to see a day like this. Amidst all the beneficent principles and agencies, and all the benefited classes around us, we must thank God, and take courage.

We have spoken of a gradual reform of the whole ideal of life and duty. Have we not fallen upon new times in this respect? Are there not many who are saying, ‘Life is a new thing to us; labor is a new thing; business is a new thing; the world is changed; other heavens are spread over us. If we could have taken these views in our youth, how different would have been to us the whole course of our existence?’ All this has come from better knowledge, from wiser teaching; and the next generation will grow up under that better teaching. The world will not always be looked upon as the dwelling-place of a being who finds it only tedious to live and hard to die; the mean abode of the drudge and slave, or of the idler and voluptuary; but it will yet come to be regarded as the theatre of lofty energy, of noble heroism, of a spiritual and sublime action. That action indeed is to be wrought out through a struggle with sense and matter, through daily labor and patience and endurance; but for all that, it is none the less spiritual, and all the more sublime. A Utopian dream this may be accounted, we know. Be it so accounted; still we say, let it be ours. But we do not dream. Human nature cannot always stand, where it stands now. Not always, did we say? Not at all. It is essentially in a state of transition. This perhaps is the most remarkable feature of the time. The powers that move it lie deeper; but this is the most noticeable result. The complaint of a dying faith and a

dead church was far more just twenty years ago, than it is now. The world, we say, cannot stand still ; with so many powers of knowledge and spiritual action to urge it forward, with six thousand years of painful experience to teach it, with all God's promises as pledges for its progress.

There are better teachings, we have said. The preachers are growing wiser. We remember the time, when the aged and venerable divine to whom we listened thought it sufficient to occupy a whole sermon with a minute description of the building of the Tabernacle, without one word of moral application, deduction or comment of any sort. Since that how have certain doctrines — Decrees, Election, Human Inability, Perseverance of the Saints — silently dropped from their place in the pulpit ! And now we are told that an indiscriminate inveighing against the gayeties and amusements of life, is beginning to give away before more reasonable ideas of human duty and happiness. But the preachers are not the only teachers now. We scarcely hear a lecture in a Lyceum, upon any practical interest, but it has something moral and religious in it. We heard lately a Discourse introductory to a Course of Law Lectures, and it closed with an earnest exhortation to the students and young practitioners to make their Sunday reading religious, and especially recommended, as food both for their minds and hearts, the noble old English divines — Barrow and Taylor, Leighton and South. Public speakers, in fact, on all sorts of occasions — the National Anniversary, Temperance Celebrations, and many others — are becoming preachers. Great indeed, is the company of them ; and great must be the effect.

In fine, we believe that a higher ideal altogether — of religion, of duty, of human worth, dignity and greatness — is entering into the world and taking its place among those mighty powers that are to mould and shape the future. Christianity indeed held that ideal in its bosom, but could not spread it effectually, till general education and enlightenment had provided a medium for its diffusion. The great *idea* of the True and the Right has ever been struggling on and advancing through the mist and darkness of past ages, but now it has "a free course and is glorified." Hermits, anchorites, monks have had their day ; professional religion and technical philanthropy have had their day ;



the priest, the statesman, the warrior, the monarch has been great ; but now we have come to learn, that *the man may be great* ; that he who stands in the common path of daily duty may live a high, holy and heroic life. The *mass of mankind* are laying claim to the highest honors of humanity ; and they will soon challenge princes and nobles to the lists. Christianity indeed has always been saying that it had honors to confer on man, nobler than earldoms and principalities ; but we have not believed it. Our Christian devotees and fanatics have seized upon the idea, and have constantly falsified it by placing it upon the narrow basis of their own technical sanctity. Men have not felt it to be true. But now is not this idea coming up on broader grounds and with a deep-felt reality ? Let it come, and it will be the advent of a new era. Let the slave become greater than the master, the serf than the lord, the peasant than the prince, and universal man greater than isolated and aggrandized man ; and towering distinctions and high-seated oppressions shall topple down to make way for the broad grandeur of humanity. Nay, and to bring the matter nearer to ourselves, let the humbler classes, as they are called, become as intelligent, cultivated and wise as those who are above them — and to this all our education systems, our Lyceums and lectures are tending — and a social revolution shall be effected to which all political revolutions are mere forms, or mere instruments at the most ; the artisan, the tradesman, the toiler, shall find his way into carpeted saloons ; and it shall not be thought remarkable !

This is no doting fancy of dreaming enthusiasts and book-men. There is no matter of fact in the world more real than this tendency of our present thinking, to elevate the mass of mankind to higher virtue and to higher honor. And every ideal of every sort, that is seated in the heart of the world, is clear and authentic prophecy of what is to come. It will fulfil itself.

The very thought, the very hope of progress, is the most certain omen of progress. And that thought is deeply seated in the heart of the world ; it is most familiar to the mind of the age ; and the age, the world will never let it go. No reform now is deemed impossible ; no enterprise for human improvement, impracticable. Every thing may be made better ; the veriest conservative admits that. All

the mental activity of the world converges to that point. It is the very point of the wedge, which the whole power of cultivated man is now driving into the long-accumulating mass of human ignorance, error and wrong. Nor is there any indifference about this great task of the age. Discontent with the present, sorrowings over the past, mingle with the hopes of the future. Man, universal civilized man, is rising in his might, and is ready to say, 'This burthen of old injustice and inhumanity, this heritage come down from erring and suffering generations, I will bear no longer!' God help thee, great human brotherhood! brotherhood in the griefs and woes of the past, and in the prospects of the future! Be not discouraged. The prophecy is in thy heart, and shall be fulfilled. Nay, and it is echoed back in the voice of holy prediction; "the voice of him that cried in the wilderness" — yes, that cried out from the dark wilderness of the past — "saying, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

"For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it!" This one further, final reason we have for hope, though all other reasons failed us; *we believe in God!* We believe in Him, as the Creator and Governor of the world. We believe that his designs for the world are benevolent. In all nature we read that language; in holy writ we see its impress; and its seal we find in the sufferings, for the redemption of the world, of the Son of God. To all discouragements, to all alarms, to all predictions of evil, we say, WE BELIEVE IN GOD!

O. D.



## ART. III.—THE THURSDAY LECTURE.

[A Discourse preached in the First Church in Boston, December 14, 1843, on the occasion of resuming the Thursday Lecture after its suspension during the repairs of the church. By REV. ROBERT C. WATERSTON.]

AFTER a separation of no brief interval it is pleasant to meet once more under this consecrated roof. Many of us have looked forward with joy to this assembling of ourselves together, and so much the more as we have seen the day approaching.\*

The historical associations connected with this Lecture are of the most interesting character. They are connected with days of privation and peril, of trial and triumph. They remind us of "sayings of old, which we have heard and known, and which our fathers have told us."

The first record which we have of the Thursday Lecture takes us back to the days of the Pilgrims. Mention is made of it as having existed at this early date both by Cotton Mather and by Governor Winthrop. If Peregrine White (who was born on board the Mayflower, November 1620,) had attended the first Thursday Lecture, he would have been a lad thirteen years of age; and had he continued to attend it through his life, he might have enjoyed this privilege seventy years.

The origin of the Thursday Lecture in this country is dated from the ordination of Mr. Cotton, who was settled, as associate with Rev. John Wilson, 17th of October 1633. Cotton Mather, the grandson of John Cotton, says, "if Boston be the chief seat of New England, it was Cotton that was the father and glory of Boston." Cotton studied at Trinity College, where he was greatly distinguished for his scholarship. He afterwards became a minister in Boston, Lincolnshire, in the diocese of the Bishop of Lincoln, where he lived in intimate friendship with the noble Earl of the same title. He was here held in high esteem, and was generally surrounded by young students from Holland and

---

\* The text of this Discourse was taken from Hebrews x. 25: "Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another; and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching."



Germany. He was an earnest and powerful preacher, and in addition to his Sabbath labors he had a Lecture every Thursday, at which multitudes thronged to hear him. Thus beyond the ocean, under the Gothic arches of St. Butolph's, was commenced a service which afterwards, when transplanted to a new settlement, became famous in the eventful history of the country, and which did much in moulding the institutions under which we now live.

John Cotton, with his independent spirit, could hardly hope to escape persecution in his own land, and he was finally compelled to fly for safety. In 1633 he crossed the ocean and landed in New England. His fame had flown before him, and the infant plantation gave him a kind greeting. He was a man of profound learning and varied acquirements. Mather tells us, "he had the most remarkable faculty of any man living to meet every occasion with pertinent reflections without ever wandering out of sight from his text." Governor Winthrop, in his Journal of 17th September, 1633, says: "The Governor and Council met at Boston, and called the ministers and elders of all the churches to consider about Mr. Cotton, his sitting down. He was desired to diverse places, and those who came with him desired he might sit down where they might keep store of cattle; but it was agreed, by full consent, that the fittest place for him was Boston, and that, keeping a Lecture, he should have some maintenance out of the Treasury."

On the 4th of March, 1634, Governor Winthrop says, "By order of Court, a mercate was erected at Boston, to be kept upon Thursday, the fifth day of the week, being the Lecture day." Thus we find the Lecture alluded to in 1633, and spoken of as already established in 1634.

In honor of John Cotton, who came from Boston in Lincolnshire, our city derived its name; and the ability of the same divine caused the influence of the fifth day service to be felt through all the civil and ecclesiastical interests of the Province.

Being acknowledged as one of the most illustrious men on this side of the sea, all gathered eagerly around him that they might listen to his exhortations. At these services subjects of the highest moment were discussed, and often at the close were left open for public debate. We have accounts of meetings at which Endicott and others took

part. The schools of the town were during half of this day closed, and the inhabitants looked upon the occasion with marked respect. Many came in from the neighboring towns. The civil magistrates, the Governor and Council attended. The President and officers of the College, together with the students, were often among the hearers.

John Cotton continued to officiate at this Lecture until his death, which took place in December, 1652, "on the day, yea, at the very hour of his constant weekly labors in the Lecture, wherein he had been so long serviceable ven to all the churches of New England."\*

But at Cotton's death the doors of the Lecture were not closed.† Through successive generations the service was continued, and for more than a century after, its influence was felt to be no less important than at its origin.

Allen, in his *Biography of Norton*, the successor of Cotton, says, "a good man of Ipswich used frequently to walk to Boston, then a distance of about thirty miles, to attend the Thursday Lecture, and would say, that it was worth a great journey to unite in one of Mr. Norton's prayers."

Chief Justice Sewall, who died January 1, 1730, mentions in his private journal, with what deep emotions he first arose to set the tune at the Thursday Lecture. And he also speaks with much sensibility of his relinquishing this practice many years after, when (by reason of advanced age) he detected himself, after having set one tune, falling into another.

It would, no doubt, appear somewhat singular if from our day we could look in upon that serious assembly. There stood the old thatched meeting-house like a wooden tent, while at its threshold many a three-cornered hat was lifted from a powdered head, and scarlet cloaks were seen gliding up the aisle.

---

\* See Mather's *Magnalia*, Edt. 1702, Book iii. p. 24.

† Cotton Mather in his life of John Wilson, *Magnalia*, Book iii. p. 46, has the following curious notice: "The Great Lecture of Boston, being disappointed of him that should have preached it, Mr. Wilson preached that Lecture on a Text occurring in the Chapter that had been read that morning in his family. Jer. xxix. 8. — 'Neither hearken to your dreams, which you cause to be dreamed;' from whence he gave a seasonable warning unto the people against the dreams wherewith sundry sorts of opinionists have been endeavoring to seduce them. It was the last Boston Lecture that ever he preached." November 16, 1665.

In 1679, instead of one church there were three. The population of the town had increased, and, we need hardly add, there were some religious dissensions. The fifth day service had until this time been conducted by the Pastor and Teacher of the old congregation. But now it was considered desirable by some individuals, that other voices should be heard. An order was therefore passed by the Magistrates, that "all the Elders of this towne might joyntly carry on the fifth day Lecture." On the Records of the Church stands the following reply: "In answer to y<sup>e</sup> Hon<sup>ed</sup> Magistrates about the Lecture; Tho as an injunction wee cannot concurr with it, but doe humbly bare our witnesse against it, as apprehending it tending to y<sup>e</sup> infringement of Church Libertie: yett if the Lord incline the hearts of the other Teaching officers of this towne to accept of desire of our officers, to give y<sup>r</sup> assistance with those of this Church, who shall bee desired to carry on their fifth day lecture, wee are willing to accept theire help therein."

Thus we see "a reasonable jealousy of political interference," and yet a willingness to acquiesce in a measure which would bring new powers "to aid in this venerable work."

Other services and objects of interest now began to take from the Lecture its relative importance, so that it did not occupy that conspicuous place in the public mind which it did in the days of its more ancient glory. The first intimation that history gives of this is in April, 1697, when Cotton Mather "gave notice,\* that the Lecture would from that time begin at 11 o'clock, instead of 12, and reproved the town's-people that they attended no better; and declared that it would be an omen of their not enjoying the Lecture long if they did not amend."

We have some little knowledge of the state of things in regard to this Lecture in 1715. The clouds had looked dark and threatening, and on Thursday the 26th of January there was a vehement snow-storm with the wind driving from the northeast. Chief Justice Sewall made his way through the drifts of snow, and when in the old meeting-house, he not only set the tune, but counted the worshippers, and he tells us that "the number consisted of but sixteen women and two hundred men."

---

\* Chief Justice Sewall's MS. Journal.



For sixty years after this period the Lecture was constantly sustained, with the exception of two months in 1734, when it was omitted every other week, on account of a lecture at Cambridge. Thus did it go on until 1775, when, during the siege of the city, it was for a time, with reluctance, suspended.

I find, by a memorandum of Dr. Eliot's,\* that this year the Lecture was generally preached by Dr. Samuel Mather, Messrs. Lathrop, Hunt, Adams, Bacon, Gordon, Howe, Dr. Cooper, Dr. Eliot, Dr. Chauncy, and Dr. Langdon, President of the College. On the Thursday preceding, and the Thursday following the battle of Bunker Hill, the Lecture was held as usual. On the day preceding Dr. Eliot preached, and on the week following Dr. Mather preached. Thus amid the shouts of war did this service speak with its "still, small voice." Through five months of painful trial the Lecture was only omitted five times; and during that period was alternately preached by Dr. Eliot and Dr. Mather. By the middle of November the difficulties became so great, that on the 30th of that month the Lecture was brought, for a season, to a close.

In an Almanac of that date which belonged to Dr. Eliot, and in which he regularly recorded his doings, he says :

---

\* Dr. Eliot preached at the Thursday Lecture for the first time, August 5, 1742.

I find from Dr. Eliot's papers, that from 1740 to 1780 it was the custom, on occasions of public sorrow or joy, to turn the Thursday Lecture into a Fast or Thanksgiving, and that at such times there were often services both morning and afternoon. Such memoranda as the following are found : — "1744, June 28th, Thursday Lecture turned into a Fast on account of ye war and ye Earthquake." "1745, February 28th Fast especially on acct of ye expedition ag. Cape Breton." "July 18th Thanksgiving on acct of ye victory at Cape Breton — all day." "Sept. 19th Fast on acct of war with Indians." "1746, July 10th Fast on acct of expedition to Canada." "July 24th Dr. Sewall preached the Thursday Lecture to 3 poor malefactors who were executed in the afternoon." "1746, August 14th Thanksgiving on acct of ye victory of ye Rebels." "October 2d our Thursday Lecture was turned into a Fast on acct of ye war. Mr. Mather began with prayer, Mr. Foxcroft preached, and I concluded with prayer. P. M. Mr. Hooper began with prayer, Mr. Prince preached, and Mr. Byles concluded with prayer." — Some readers may be interested in the following statements : "March 20th, 1760, an amazing fire from Cornhill to Fort Hill; the confusion was such that the Lecture was omitted." "January 1st, 1761, Mr. Cooper preached a funeral sermon for King George 2nd." "March 12th, 1761, Mr. Cooper preached, at about 2½ o'clock there was considerable shock of an Earthquake."

On December 15th, 1743, precisely 100 years before the day on which the present discourse was delivered, the Rev. Dr. Cooper was buried. The Thursday Lecture on that occasion was preached by Rev. Dr. Sewall.

“ Nov. 30. T. L. The attendance of this Lecture being exceeding small, and our work greatly increased in other respects, Dr. Mather and I, who, since the departure of our other brethren, had preached it alternately, thought proper to lay it down for the present. I preached the last sermon from those words in Rev. iii. 3 : ‘ Remember how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent.’ An affecting occasion, the laying down a Lecture which had subsisted more than one hundred and forty years. The small congregation was much moved at the consideration.”

In order to show the state of things during this period, it may not be improper to give some extracts from manuscript letters written by Dr. Eliot, who so devotedly stood by this Lecture in the day of peril. These letters have never before been published or presented to the public. April 25, 1775, he writes : “ This town, which by the late cruel and oppressive measures gone into by the British Parliament, is now almost depopulated, or will be in a few days. Filled with the troops of Britain, and surrounded by a Provincial army, all communication with the country is cut off, and we wholly deprived of the necessaries of life ; and this principal mart of America, is become a poor garrison town. The inhabitants have been confined to the city more than a week, and no person is suffered to enter. At length the General hath consented that if the inhabitants would deliver their arms, they should be suffered to depart. This proposal, humiliating as it is, hath been complied with. In consequence of this agreement, almost all are leaving their pleasant habitations, and going they know not whither. The most are obliged to leave their furniture and effects of every kind, and indeed their all, to the uncertain chance of war, or rather to certain ruin and destruction. The last week I thought myself in comfortable circumstances, had a convenient dwelling well furnished, a fine library, attended by a large, affectionate and generous congregation. Now I am by a cruel necessity turned out of my house, must leave my books and all I possess, perhaps to be destroyed by a licentious soldiery ; my beloved congregation dispersed, my dear wife retreating to a distant part of the country, my children wandering not knowing whither to go, perhaps left to perish from want. Myself soon to leave this devoted capital, happy if I can find some obscure corner which will

afford me a bare subsistence. I wish to God the authors of our misery could be witnesses of it. They must have hearts harder than adamant if they did not relent and pity us. \* \* \* Great Britain may ruin the colonies, but she will never subjugate them. They will hold out to the last gasp. They make it a common cause, and they will continue to do so. In this confusion the college is broken up; nothing is talked of but war. Where these scenes will end God only knows, but if I may venture to predict, they will terminate in a total separation of the Colonies from the Parent Country." On May 31st, 1775, he writes: "I have remained in this town till this day much against my inclination. Most of the ministers being gone, I have been prevailed with to tarry to officiate to those inhabitants who are still left. But my situation is uncomfortable to the last degree. Friends perpetually coming to bid me adieu. Much the greater part of the inhabitants gone out of the town; the rest following as fast as the General will give them leave; grass growing in the public walks and streets of this once populous and flourishing place; shops and warehouses shut up; business at an end; every one in anxiety and distress. The provincial army at our doors. The troops actually confined in this town, which is almost an island and surrounded by ships of war, which is its greatest security. There have been two or three little skirmishes, in which has been verified what I wrote some time ago; that our people would certainly fight. The advantage hath hitherto been on the side of the Provincials, and it is not improbable to me, that if they attempt the town, they will carry it, for they are numerous and very determined. These things you will easily believe keep us in perpetual alarm." On April 9th, 1776, Dr. Eliot writes as follows: "When I wrote you last I did not dare to write with any kind of freedom, lest what I wrote should fall into the hands of our then masters, which would have exposed me to their resentment, which I greatly feared, for their wrath was cruel. I cannot repent my having tarried in town, it seemed necessary to preserve the very face of Religion. But nothing would induce me again to spend eleven months in a garrison town. We have been afraid to speak, to write, almost to think. We are now relieved, wonderfully delivered. The town hath been evacuated by the British Troops, so suddenly,



that they have left amazing stores behind them, vast quantities of coal which the inhabitants have been cruelly denied through the winter, cannon and warlike stores in abundance. Great numbers of the friends of Government, as they are called, are gone to Halifax, crowded in vessels which will scarce contain them. What will become of them there, God knows, the place is full already. This inglorious retreat hath raised the spirits of the Colonists to the highest pitch. They look upon it as a complete victory. I dare now to say, what I did not dare to say before this, — I have long thought it, — that Great Britain *cannot* subjugate the Colonies. Independence a year ago could not have been publicly mentioned with impunity. Nothing else is now talked of, and I know not what can be done by Great Britain to prevent it. I did not care in my last to mention the contempt thrown upon our places of worship. The Old North pulled down. Dr. Sewall's made a riding school for the Light Horse, the inside totally destroyed. Dr. Cooper's, Mr. Howard's and Dr. Byles' turned into barracks without any appearance of necessity. Mr. Moorhead's filled with hay, Mr. Stillman's made a Hospital. Such conduct would disgrace barbarians. I am quite sick of armies, and am determined, if possible, never to live in the same place with any considerable body of forces. I find a committee of the Overseers appointed at the motion of the General Court to examine the political principles of those who govern the College. The President is in haste to move the students to Cambridge. The buildings are in a shocking condition, having been improved for barracks. The Library and apparatus are safe at Andover. The soldiers are all gone from Cambridge to the Southward, where they expect the seat of action will be. Dr. Warren's body hath been brought from Bunker's Hill, and was buried yesterday with all Military honors and those of Masonry. It was carried from the Representatives' Chamber to the King's Chapel, and Dr. Cooper prayed. Mr. Morton delivered a spirited oration, wherein he publicly urged an entire disconnection with Great Britain. This is the fashionable doctrine, and I again say that I do not see that Great Britain can prevent it. When she rejected the last petition of the Congress, it was all over with her. I attended last week a meeting of the Overseers and Corporation at Watertown, for the first time since our en-

largement. We voted General Washington a degree of LL. D. He is a fine gentlemen, and hath charmed every body since he hath had the command."

Boston was evacuated by the British troops on the 17th March, 1776; and immediately the Thursday Lecture was resumed. The streets resounded with triumphant acclamations. The officers of the American army, and Washington himself, attended the service. Dr. Eliot preached, and gave a deeply interesting and eloquent discourse appropriate to the occasion, from Isaiah xxxiii. 20: "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities; thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down." This sermon contained a particular address to General Washington. The sermon is not now to be found.\*

Thus Washington, after the signal success which had attended his measures and the eminent services he had rendered his country, here received the congratulations of his fellow-countrymen and before the altar of God bowed with them in gratitude to heaven.

For twenty-three years from this date did that great and good man live to be the guide and glory of his country. Washington died December 14, 1799, and this is the anniversary of that memorable day. Sixty-seven years have passed since Washington, with the officers of his army, was present at the Lecture, and forty-four years ago, this very day, in his residence at Mount Vernon, did he peacefully breathe his last.

Here we may properly close our allusions to the past history of this Lecture. The memory of some who are present will take them back nearly to that period. The former house of the First Church stood on the spot occupied at this time by Joy's Buildings, in Washington Street. It was of the same model with the house in which the first society in Hingham now worship. The whole lower story of the old State House was at that time open for a promenade,

---

\* According to Thacher, Dr. Eliot was requested by Washington to give this discourse. His account is as follows: "His Excellency the Commander in Chief has been received by the inhabitants with every mark of respect and gratitude; and a public dinner has been provided for him. He requested Dr. Eliot, at the renewal of his customary Thursday Lecture to preach a Thanksgiving sermon, adapted to the joyful occasion. Accordingly on the 28th, this pious divine preached an appropriate discourse." — *Thacher's Journal*, p. 51.

and on Thursdays, after the Lecture, the ministers generally met in that area.

One of the brethren now present preached twenty-six Lectures in the old meeting-house. Fifty-five years since he repeatedly walked from Dorchester to attend the Lecture. There were then fewer who attended the Lecture than at the present time.

Ten years ago, at the close of the second century from the establishment of this Lecture, an appropriate discourse was delivered in this place by the honored pastor of the First Church. It was listened to with deep interest by many, and will long be remembered in connexion with this day.

It is a fact somewhat interesting, that not only in Boston, but also in Salem a weekly Lecture was established from the earliest settlement of the country; and that, although it has long been discontinued, there is still a day in the week known to the inhabitants of that place as "the Lecture day." This Lecture was connected with the church now under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Upham, and over which at one time the celebrated Roger Williams was settled as Pastor, and afterwards Hugh Peters, that statesman and scholar, that eloquent divine, that noble Puritan, who finally fell as a martyr of civil and religious liberty. In looking over the Church Records in Salem I find the following vote on the books of the First Church, dated December 25th, 1718, being Thursday: "Voted, that the Brethren of this church will speedily consider of some proper method to revive the Lecture in this place, and when they are prepared, a number of them shall repair to the Pastor and pray him to call a church meeting further to prosecute the vote." At this time the Rev. Samuel Fisk was pastor. His course of conduct did not give entire satisfaction to his people. They called a parish meeting, and one of the solemn charges brought against him was, that he had abandoned the Lecture. This charge was posted upon the church door; whereupon, on the following Sunday, the Rev. Samuel Fisk preached all day upon the subject. Out of this grew a controversy which lasted thirty-seven years, and which ended in the division of the church.

Worthy and interesting as is the duty of commemorating the past, such recollections would be of little avail if they



did not lead us to renewed efforts in the present, and inspire us with brighter hopes for the future.

We are determined not only to praise this Lecture, but to perpetuate it. It will not, it cannot die. The past speaks through it, the past lives in it, and the present may speak in it and live in it also. Though venerable in its antiquity, it may yet be fresh with the vigor of youth. Why should we let the institutions of the past die out? If they are good, why should we not the more faithfully support them on account of their having been established by those who are gone? Does it awaken no emotion to feel that on this day, two centuries ago, our ancestors assembled at this service? Is there no hallowing influence in the thought, that on this day and at this service multitudes, long since passed into rest, listened to the eloquence of the apostolic fathers of New England? Here stood the patriarch Wilson, the first pastor of Boston. Here Cotton pleaded with holy faith and fervor. Here were the voices of Norton, and Baily, and Wadsworth, and Bridge, and Allen, and Mather, often heard. Here did the venerable Davenport preach, who was invited, in connexion with Cotton, to the great Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Here Oxenbridge paused in this very Lecture to be carried to his death-bed. Here also labored, as we have seen, Eliot, and Lathrop, Hooper, and Langdon. Here stood Chauncy, as the defender of the faith, the bold and consistent advocate of the principles of the Reformation.\* Here, in later days was heard the voice of Buckminster; and here too have we listened to those who have so recently departed, Channing, and Ware, and Greenwood. Oh! that once more those inspiring voices might be heard at this altar! But we will remember the last words of one, who, with his loving spirit illuminated by faith, said, before he left us, that the Church above and the Church below might be intimately united. Yes, we will believe it. Those who have labored in the cause of truth, and have made their influence felt here in times past, may

---

\* Jonathan Mayhew, who for independence, scholarship, patriotism and piety must ever be numbered among the distinguished of the clergy of New England, was not connected with the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers, and therefore took no part in preaching the Thursday Lecture. He established a Lecture of his own, and many of the discourses written for these occasions were afterwards published, and are among his ablest productions.

be around us as a cloud of witnesses, and may rejoice at every new effort here made to establish the kingdom of righteousness.

We may well value this Lecture as a monument and memorial of the past. Many, like the Athenians, are asking for something *new*. New societies, new institutions, new measures, and new views are springing up all around us. It is refreshing to find something *old*; something that has the relish of antiquity, the venerableness of age; that was born before we were, and has been sanctified by the love of other generations. While men are sweeping away so much before them, let us save this one relic as a legacy for our children.

We will not value it the less because it originated under the Gothic arches of a Cathedral in Lincolnshire. But that for which we will value it the most is, because it was transplanted in the days of the Pilgrims, and was the fruit of the Reformation. It breathed forth the spirit of the Puritans, and was associated with their noble struggles.

We, as a Christian Communion, are the legitimate followers of the Pilgrims. Our churches are planted upon the principles of the Reformation. The Sovereign of England declared in 1662, that "the principle and foundation of the Charter of Massachusetts was liberty of conscience."\* This concession of the Massachusetts Charter seemed to those who sought spiritual freedom like a summons from Heaven inviting them to America, where the Gospel might be taught in its purity, and where each one might be allowed to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. "Puritanism, zealous for independence, admitted no voucher but the Bible — a fixed rule, which it would allow neither parliament, nor hierarchy, nor king, to interpret."†

The churches established by the Pilgrims are to this day the faithful representatives of the Reformation. Their spirit has been transmitted. Liberty of opinion, the right of private judgment, the sufficiency of the Scriptures without dogmas and creeds, where are these most clearly advocated? The First Church in Plymouth, the First in Salem, and the First in Boston, are united with us in the

---

\* Bancroft's History, Vol. i. p. 344. Document in Hutch. Coll. 378.

† Bancroft. Vol. i. p. 279.

simple primitive faith. The first covenant used by the Pilgrims, in the church at Plymouth, is so pure and so liberal, that it might be used by us all. It is a bond of fellowship and love, and has no shackle for the mind. It is worthy of the friends and flock of John Robinson. And thus are we the true representatives of those men and of their sublime principles. Upon the very altars which they built the sacred flame yet burns; and we are here united in a service commenced by them. It connects us to them as by a living tie. It is the chain along which has been transmitted, from generation to generation, the divine fire that glowed in their bosoms.

It is dear to us, because it was dear to them. It is dear to us, because it binds us to them. It is good for us, because it speaks to us as from them, and tells us to go on. As the immortal Robinson exclaimed to those on board the *Speedwell*, "I charge you before God and his blessed angels that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ; for the Lord has more truth yet, to break forth out of his holy word." In this Lecture I hear the echo of that voice. It still speaks from him to us.

This Lecture is good as a bond of union between Christian ministers who are bound by no papers or parchments, who are not frozen together by Edicts, but knit together by living affections. Here is an opportunity for each one in his turn to suggest truth to the brethren; to bring forward some view connected with the welfare of the Church, or the well-being of society. Why should not those who exhort others, be themselves urged to faithfulness? Why should not the young who have entered the ministry, listen to the counsels of the old? The privileges presented in these Lectures are felt by many to be precious, and I verily believe that the hours passed here will be remembered by many with deep feeling to the day of their death. Seldom can we listen to our fellow-laborers in the ministry save here, and as one after another shall be called away, will not those who are left remember with some emotion the words which may here have been uttered?

But if these Lectures are good for the preacher, they are good for the people. If the ministers of the Gospel are to assemble, they will be quickened by the presence of



others. We hear of many who crave for sympathy, — *we need* sympathy too. Let this church every week be thronged, and it will be found that the spirit of our fathers is living yet! There are sixteen churches in this city whose pastors are connected with the Boston Association of Ministers. If it were generally considered by those who attend these churches that they might add life to the Lecture by their presence, are there not enough every week to fill this church? Let those who take pleasure in the house of God, come up hither to unite in devotion. Let those who ask for multiplied meetings, use well those they have. Let those who cling to the past, cherish this remnant of antiquity. Let those who seek for reform, reform those who absent themselves from this service. Let the merchant leave for an hour his merchandise, that he may spend a short season in holy contemplation. Let the student close his book, that he may listen to the living voice. And the teacher will bring here his best words and utter his highest wisdom. Here will the thoughtful unfold highest knowledge. Here will the devout breathe forth supplications. Here will the benevolent speak of a Divine philanthropy. Here will those who have come from the chamber of sickness or death, unveil the solemn realities of time and eternity. Here will those who long for a better day, speak of their aspirations and make known their hopes.

May the light which is shed abroad here, be from above. Around this spot may the grandeur of truth be gathered. Here may the cross of Christ be uplifted, until every heart shall be kindled into a divine love. There are spiritual achievements yet before us; sins to be crushed, errors to be exploded, light to be diffused, and truth to be established. While we consider "the days of old," and "the years of ancient times;" while we behold what others accomplished amid dangers and discouragements, shall it not inspire us with new zeal and bind us together with holier sympathies? As often as this day comes round may it find us assembled together, and may "the Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers."

## ART. IV.—ARNOLD'S SERMONS.\*

It is not our purpose at present to enter into any extended examination of the two volumes of sermons by the late Oxford Professor of History, and our principal motive for noticing them at all is, to present our readers some extracts from the Introduction and Notes to one of the volumes, having reference to questions which are now deeply agitating the religious public in England, and are receiving some attention in our own country.

The volume, the title of which we have placed first, was published before the author's death, which took place, June 11, 1842. The second of these volumes is posthumous. The sermons contained in both were preached mostly in the Chapel of Rugby School, of which the writer was Head Master. They are plain, serious, practical discourses, written without any attempt at eloquence. They exhibit no remarkable intellectual power, yet the thought is always fresh and vigorous, and they breathe an earnest and Christian spirit. Their peculiar excellence, as it appears to us, is their strict adaptation—this is true of most of them at least—to the condition and needs of the audience before which they were preached. They are not discourses on general subjects, which might be as well preached before one set of hearers as another. Many of them bear the form of direct addresses to the young, to children at school; and consist not in vague declamation, but in a discussion of some definite subject, some principle of conduct or duty, connected with the wants, dangers, and temptations of youth. Others are upon the general duties of the Christian life, its "course, its hindrances, and its helps," "its hopes, its fears, and its close." Yet these topics are not treated in any formal way, nor at all systematically, so as to form

---

\* 1. *Christian Life, its Course, its Hindrances, and its Helps. Sermons, preached mostly in the Chapel of Rugby School.* By THOMAS ARNOLD, D. D., Head Master of Rugby School, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Second Edition. London: 1842. 8vo. pp. 492.

2. *Christian Life, its Hopes, its Fears, and its Close. Sermons, preached mostly in the Chapel of Rugby School.* By the late THOMAS ARNOLD, D. D., Head Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. London: 1842. 8vo. pp. 469.

one regular whole. This the author does not pretend, though the title of the volumes would lead one to expect some such thing. Probably most persons who take up the volumes, allured by the title, will read them with a feeling of disappointment. Still we cannot but think, that the delivery of such sermons from Sabbath to Sabbath, marked, as they are, by a high moral and religious tone, and containing so much which was directly applicable, must have been attended with good, especially when we take into view the peculiar respect and affection, which, as we are told, Dr. Arnold had the happiness uniformly to inspire in his pupils. They certainly present a beautiful picture of the relation in which he stood to his pupils, not simply as their intellectual father, but a tender and faithful religious guide. Several of the sermons, however, have a direct reference to the principles and usages of his own Church, the Church of England, which will render them less acceptable elsewhere than at home and among the members of the Establishment.

We will give a single extract from the sermons, to illustrate what we have said of their directness and application. We might give many better passages, and some equally direct, but the following will show the author's manner and style, when he is most familiar. He is speaking of a school as a Christian society, — as “in its idea and institution God's temple;” and every one, he says, who is a member of it has a duty to perform in regard to it — he owes a duty to the school.

“I would say a few words to another class of persons among you, to those whose station in the school is high, but yet does not invest them with authority, while their age is often such as to give them really an influence equal to that of those above them, or it may be superior. I will not say that these exercise an influence for evil, for such a charge can only apply to particular persons; none exercise a direct influence for evil without being in some way evil themselves; but I am sure that, as a class, they have much to answer for in standing aloof, and not discouraging evil and encouraging good. They forget that if they have not authority, they have what really amounts to the same thing; they know that they are looked up to, — that what they say and do has its effect on others; they know, in short, that they are of some consequence and weight in the school. But being so, they cannot escape the responsibility of their



position. It matters nothing that the rules of the school confer on them no direct power. One far above any school authority has given them a power, and will call them to a strict account for its exercise. We may lay no official responsibility upon you, but God does. He has given you a talent which it is your sin to waste, or to lay by unimproved. And as it is most certain that you have an influence and power, and you well know it; so remember that where there is power, there is ever a duty attached to it;—if you can influence others,—as beyond all doubt you can, and do influence them daily,—if you do not influence them against evil and for good, you are wasting the talent entrusted to you, and sinning against God.

“Again, I will speak to them who are yet younger, whose age and station in school confer on them, it may be, no general influence. But see whether you too have not your influence, and whether you also do not sin often by neglecting it or misusing it. By whom is it that new boys are for the most part corrupted? Not certainly by those much above them in school, but necessarily by their own immediate companions. By whom are they laughed at for their conscientiousness, or reviled and annoyed for their knowledge or their diligence? not certainly by those at or near the head of the school, but by those of their own age and form. To whose annoyance does many a new boy owe the wretchedness of his life here? To whose influence and example has he owed the corruption of his practice, and of his principles,—his ruin here and forever? Is it not to those nearly of his own age, with whom he is most led to associate? And can boys say that they have no influence, when they influence so notoriously the comfort and character of their neighbors? At this moment particularly, when so many new boys are just come amongst us, the younger or middle-aged boys have an especial influence, and let them beware how they use it. I know not what greater sin can be committed, than the so talking, and so acting, to a new boy, as to make him ashamed of any thing good, or not ashamed of any thing evil. It matters very little what is the age of the boy who exercises an influence like theirs. He, too, has anticipated the power of more advanced years, and in like manner he has contracted their guilt, and is liable to their punishment.”\*

The Introduction and Notes, to which we have alluded, belong to the first volume named by us, and published by the author himself. They show us the magnitude of the loss sustained by the moderate party in the Church, by the

---

\* *Christian Life, its Hopes, Fears, and Close.* — pp. 60 — 62.

death of Professor Arnold, for he was an earnest, fearless man, well-informed on all points of the controversy, and disposed to give free utterance to his opinions. And he did so.

The Oxford movement is generally supposed to have commenced only ten or twelve years ago. Professor Arnold assigns to it an earlier origin. It has been called "a movement towards something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century." To this he does not object. He adds,

"It began, I suppose, in the last ten years of the last century, and has ever since been working onwards, though for a long time slowly and secretly, and with no distinctly marked direction. But still, in philosophy and general literature, there have been sufficient proofs that the pendulum, which for nearly two hundred years had been swinging one way, was now beginning to swing back again; and as its last oscillation brought it from the true centre, so it may be, that its present impulse may be no less in excess, and thus may bring on again, in after ages, another corresponding reaction." — p. iii.

Of Mr. Newman and his friends Dr. Arnold says,

"There are states of nervous excitement, when the noise of a light footstep is distracting. In such a condition were the authors of the Tracts in 1833, and all their subsequent proceedings have shown that the disorder was still upon them. Beset by their horror of the nineteenth century, they sought for something most opposite to it, and therefore they turned to what they called Christian antiquity. Had they judged of their own times, had they appreciated the good of the nineteenth century, as well as its evil, they would have looked for their remedy not to the second or third or fourth centuries, but the first; they would have tried to restore, not the Church of Cyprian, or Athanasius, or Augustine, but the Church of St. Paul and of St. John. Now, this it is most certain that they have not done. Their appeal has been not to Scripture, but to the opinions and practices of the dominant party in the ancient Church. They have endeavored to set those opinions and practices, under the name of Apostolical tradition, on a level with the authority of the Scriptures. But their unfortunate excitement has made them fail of doing even what they intended to do. It may be true that all their doctrines may be found in the writings of those whom they call the Fathers; but the effect of their teaching is different because its proportions are altered. Along with their doctrines, there are other points and another spirit promi-

ment in the writings of the earlier Christians, which give to the whole a different complexion. The Tracts for the Times do not appear to me to represent faithfully the language of Christian antiquity; they are rather its caricature." — pp. xx — xxii.

In preaching, as they do, "apostolical succession" and the power of the clergy, Professor Arnold says, Mr. Newman and his friends preach themselves, and not Christ. He proceeds,

"Again, the system which they hold up as 'better and deeper than satisfied the last century' is a remedy which has been tried once already: and its failure was so palpable, that all the evil of the eighteenth century was but the reaction from that enormous evil which this remedy, if it be any, had at any rate been powerless to cure. Apostolical succession, the dignity of the clergy, the authority of the Church, were triumphantly maintained for several centuries; and their full development was coincident, to say the least, with the corruption alike of Christ's religion and Christ's church. So far were they from tending to realize the promises of prophecy, to perfect Christ's body up to the measure of the stature of Christ's own fulness, that Christ's Church declined during their ascendancy more and more;—she fell alike from truth and from holiness; and these doctrines, if they did not cause the evil, were at least quite unable to restrain it. For, in whatever points the fifteenth century differed from the fourth, it cannot be said that it upheld the apostolical succession less peremptorily, or attached a less value to Church tradition and Church authority. I am greatly understating the case, but I am content for the present to do so: I will not say that Mr. Newman's favorite doctrines were the very Antichrist which corrupted Christianity; I will only say that they did not prevent its corruption,—that when they were most exalted, Christian truth and Christian goodness were most depressed." — pp. xxviii, xxix.

In regard to the necessity of apostolical succession to give efficacy to the sacraments, he says, that there are no words of Jesus from which such a doctrine "can be deduced either probably or plausibly; none from which it could be even conjectured that such a tenet had ever been in existence."

The following is in a tone of great earnestness and benevolence, and shows the moral aspects under which the author was accustomed to view the Oxford assumptions, and the broad principles by which he judged of the truth or falsehood of a doctrine. There is a moral element which



belongs to all religious truth, which we do not find in the doctrines of Puseyism.

“When we look at the condition of our country; at the poverty and wretchedness of so large a portion of the working classes; at the intellectual and moral evils which certainly exist among the poor, but by no means amongst the poor only; and when we witness the many partial attempts to remedy these evils—attempts benevolent indeed and wise, so far as they go, but utterly unable to strike to the heart of the mischief; can any Christian doubt that here is the work for the church of Christ to do; that none else can do it; and that with the blessing of her Almighty Head she can. Looking upon the chaos around us, one power alone can reduce it into order, and fill it with light and life. And does he really apprehend the perfections and high calling of Christ’s church; does he indeed fathom the depths of man’s wants, or has he learnt to rise to the fulness of the stature of their divine remedy, who comes forward to preach to us the necessity of apostolical succession? Grant even that it was of Divine appointment, still as it is demonstrably and palpably unconnected with holiness, as it would be a mere positive and ceremonial ordinance, it cannot be the point of most importance to insist on; even if it be a sin to neglect this, there are so many far weightier matters equally neglected, that it would be assuredly no Christian prophesying which were to strive to direct our chief attention to this. But the wholly unmoral character of this doctrine, which, if it were indeed of God, would make it a single mysterious exception to all the other doctrines of the Gospel, is, God be thanked, not more certain than its total want of external evidence; the Scriptures disclaims it, Christ himself condemns it.” — pp. lxx — lxxvii.

Our next extract is from the Notes at the end of the volume, and we wish we had room for more, especially on the historical evidence of the Scriptures, on faith, and rationalism. But we must content ourselves with the following, relating to one of the objections to the principle of the High-Church party, that is, its “extreme vagueness,” in reference to the authority of antiquity.

“What is primitive antiquity? and where is its authority to be found? Does ‘primitive antiquity’ mean the first three centuries? or the first two? or the first five? or the first seven? Does it include any of the general councils? or one of them? or four? or six? Are Irenæus and Tertullian the latest writers of ‘primitive antiquity?’ or does it end with Augustine? or

does it comprehend the venerable Bede? One writer has lately told us, that our Reformers wished the people to be taught, 'that, for almost seven hundred years, the Church was most pure.' Are we then, to hold that 'primitive antiquity' embraces a period of nearly seven centuries? Seven centuries are considerably more than a third part of the whole duration of the Church, from its foundation to this hour: can the third part of a nation's history be called its primitive antiquity? Is a tenet, or a practice taught when Christianity had been more than six hundred years in the world, to be called primitive? We know not then, in the first place, what length of time is signified by 'primitive antiquity.'

"But let it signify any length of time we choose, I ask, next, where is its authority to be found? In the decisions of the general councils? But if we call the first four centuries 'primitive antiquity,' we find in this period only two general councils; if we include the fifth century, we get four; if we take in the sixth and seventh centuries, we have then, in all, six general councils. Will the decisions of any, or all, of these six councils furnish us with an authoritative interpretation of Scripture? They give us the Nicene and the Constantinopolitan creeds; they condemn various notions with respect to the person of our Lord, and to some other points of belief; and they contain a variety of regulations for the discipline and order of the Church; but, with the exception of some particular passages, there is no authority in the creeds, or canons, or anathemas of these councils, for the interpretation of Scripture; they leave its difficulties just where they were before. It is but little, then, which the first six general councils will do towards providing the student of Scripture with an infallible standard of interpretation.

"Where, however, except in the councils, can we find any thing claiming to be the voice of the Church? Neither individual writers, nor yet all the writers of the first seven centuries together, can properly be called the Church. They form, even all together, but a limited number of individuals who, in different countries, and at different periods, expressed, in writing, their own sentiments, but without any public authority. Origen, one of the ablest and most learned of them all, was anathematized by the second council of Constantinople; Tertullian was heretical during a part of his life; Lactantius was taxed with heterodoxy. How are we to know who were sound? And if sound generally, that is to say, if they stand charged with no heretical error, yet it does not follow that a man is infallible because he is not heretical; and none of these writers have been distinguished like the five great Roman lawyers whom the edict of Theodosius selected from the mass, and gave to their decisions a legal authority. Or, again, if it be said that the

agreement of the great majority of them is to be regarded as decisive, we answer, that as no individual amongst them is in himself an authority legally, so neither can any number of them be so; and if a moral authority only be meant, such as we naturally ascribe to the concurring judgment of many eminent men, then this is a totally different question, and is open to inquiry in every separate case; for as, on the one hand, no one denies that such a concurring judgment is *an* authority, yet, on the other hand, it may be outweighed, either by the worth of the few who differ from the judgment, or by the reason of the case itself; and the concurring judgment of the majority may show no more than the force of a general prejudice, which only a few individuals were sensible enough to resist.—pp. 470–472.

A. L.

---

ART. V.—THE BOOK OF LIFE.

THE thought of accountableness is ever present in the minds of all rational beings. Somewhere and in some way our deeds and thoughts are recorded, so that every wrong action and every impure imagination will come into judgment. Whether of good or of evil, there is nothing hid that shall not be revealed and come abroad.

Perhaps the only form which this conception can take in the minds of the young is, that God writes down our whole history in a book of eternal record. The idea that spiritual messengers are all around us, that they take knowledge of every new-born thought, every rising emotion, and every action that bodies them forth, and thence wing their way to that awful presence with their burden of sorrow or of joy; that they “give in” the sins of men with tears of grief and tinges of shame, but all pure and virtuous actions with quick movements and rejoicing spirits,—this is an idea which has been to us of magical potency in many an hour of temptation, and of fearful recollection and foreboding in the day of remorse. The thought of the judgment-seat and the books that are to be opened,—and that all these are to be read in our ears by the dread angel, and so truly and perfectly, that every word will carry its own convictions to the heart,—is a mighty persuasive to well-doing.



Perhaps the first refinement which we make upon these impressions of our childhood is, that the record of our crimes and virtues is to be found in that general result — our own characters. Upon these every thought and volition have a bearing. At any given period of our existence, whether here or hereafter, we shall be what we have made ourselves by all the crimes and virtues that went before. "The child is father of the man," and so is the man of the immortal. Childhood has the formation of youth, youth of manhood, and manhood of age, and childhood, youth, manhood, and age are but successive waves in that never-ceasing tide that rolls onward its resistless waters, till they stir the vast ocean of eternity. How does every thing of the present in our voluntary history tell with inconceivable importance upon an everlasting futurity.

And do even these conceptions reach the full truth of the matter? We think not. They give the general doctrine, but there are many things included under it, which are yet to be brought forth in terrible distinctness. The human memory — how little do we yet know of its higher laws! It is a power more dignified than that of prophecy, for it clothes man in attributes more solemn and responsible. Though so little understood, yet we obtain fitful gleams and fore-splendors of its higher offices, which make us tremble when we think we are men.

There is an obvious distinction observed in all mental philosophy between *memory* and *recollection*. Memory is not an active power of the mind, but the passive repository of all the facts of past experience, whether inward or outward, — all thoughts, emotions, and states of mind, as well as all words and determinate actions. Recollection is the faculty which calls up these from their places of repose; which evokes them from their dim, and perhaps long forgotten cells, and brings them up again into the clear light of the consciousness. And now — these are the questions we tremble to ask — is there any thing which a mortal man can think, or speak, or do, which can perish from the memory? And is there any thing in the memory, which recollection may not seize upon and drag forth into the most central and burning light of self-consciousness? — To both these questions we think the answer is, No. We doubt whether any fact, however trivial, into which the

soul has once passed by its own free volitions, can afterwards perish from the memory, any more than the smallest atom once created by the fiat of God can of itself fall into non-existence. We find, moreover, from the experience of minds, even when clogged and overlaid with matter, that they are capable of being excited to such a degree of intensity that long forgotten images come thronging back upon them, when even childhood pours its long-lost treasures upon the reviving remembrances of age. Is it not owing to this law in its more beneficent operations, that words of tenderness and lessons of maternal love come back to the mind of the hoary prodigal with moving eloquence, even from the years of infancy? Is it not true, that in the sunny period of our childhood, when our "angels do always behold the face of our Father in heaven" and breathe celestial whisperings through our spiritual natures, good impressions without number and thoughts of purity and counsels of wisdom from teacher and parent are treasured up in our memories; that though buried and forgotten long afterwards when we walk through the valley of sin, yet they are never lost? It is among these as among the embers of a buried flame that the Holy Spirit moves, waking the prodigal to a sense of his guilt and calling him back to the house of his Father. These early treasures, thus lost and brought to light again, are the foundation of Plato's doctrine of "Reminiscence," Swedenborg's doctrine of "Remains," and of the high and almost divine philosophy shadowed forth in Wordsworth's *Evening Ode* and in that on the early intimations of immortality. The poet is gazing upon the glories of an evening sky, when, if ever, we seem to stand before the gates of Paradise and feel its peace pass into our souls. "The shadow and the peace supreme" revive the purest thoughts and recollections of the primal innocence of human nature.

"Such hues from their celestial urn  
Were wont to stream before mine eye,  
Where'er I wandered in the morn  
Of blissful infancy.  
This glimpse of glory, why renewed?  
Nay, rather speak with gratitude;  
For, if a vestige of those gleams  
Survived, 'twas only in my dreams.

Dread Power ! whom peace and calmness serve  
No less than nature's threatening voice,  
If aught unworthy be my choice,  
From Thee if I would swerve,  
Oh, let thy grace remind me of the light,  
Full early lost, and fruitlessly deplored ;  
Which at this moment on my waking sight  
Appears to shine, by miracle restored !"

How beautiful the doctrine ! how encouraging to the good ! These are the treasures laid up in heaven, which moth cannot corrupt and which thieves cannot plunder. Yea, not a word of pious counsel or heavenly wisdom which the Sabbath school teacher breathes into the ear of the child, can ever be lost. And some time — far on in the course of years — it may awake in the dormitory of the soul and speak in angel-accent and prevail.

We may look at this law in another of its applications. View it in connection with the great subject of retribution. "Every word shall be brought into judgment, with every secret thing." We have known the mind, when unusually excited, recal the faded impressions of former years and the facts associated with them. What an idea does this give us of the susceptibilities of our souls ? God might, at a single breathing of his upon our faculties, quicken them into such intense activity that they should give us back all our past experience. The graves of memory might all be opened and deliver up their dead, so that every faded impression should be revived — so that the images of the past should all sweep in sun-bright array through the halls of the soul, and make us live over in an hour the life of four-score years. There is a passage in Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, so well known that we need not quote it, in which he mentions an illiterate person, who in fits of delirium was accustomed to repeat with great fluency long passages from Latin and Hebrew writers, which she had heard read twenty years before, when they only fell upon the ear as unintelligible sounds. An excitement of the mind brought back even the words that had been lost for twenty years ! "And this" — so comments the writer upon the fact — "this perchance is the dread book of judgment, in whose mysterious hieroglyphics every idle word is recorded ! Yea, in the very nature of the living spirit it



may be more possible, that heaven and earth should pass away, than that a single act, a single thought, should be loosened or lost from that living chain of causes, to all whose links, conscious or unconscious, the free will, our only absolute self, is co-extensive and co-present." A passage, exclaims another writer, which strikes me whenever I read it with the profoundest awe.

Here, clothed with matter and clogged with the senses, the human faculties do not rise to their highest and most intense activity. But the physical body will fall and crumble, and we shall be "clothed upon" with the body celestial. How then may the whole book of our past experience open up its revelations into the consciousness? Is the sinner to be convicted of his sinful lusts and passions? He is brought back into that state of mind from which his crimes have flowed, and then recollection calls out from memory the wicked passion, and all the minutest facts in which it was manifested, and the words in which it was bodied forth. "I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is *the book of life*; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books according to their works."

From these partial gleams into this mysterious being, so sublimely yet fearfully endowed, we shall learn with more and more of distinctness and vividness how vain and futile are the hopes which some entertain of the future bliss; how entirely artificial and technical is much of the theology of the Church; how false the notion of a substituted righteousness, when one must bring himself and the whole of himself to the judgment-seat, whether it be good or whether it be evil; and how cheering the thought to the good man, that the treasures of virtue are as imperishable as God himself, — that holy remembrances shall throng his mind forever, and shed over it the sweet elixir of heavenly peace. Yea, though he have faults and sins which cannot fall out from the memory, yet there shall they lie buried and never rise up to his condemnation, when the ruling affection is pure and holy. And the old man, whose mind has seemed to decay, who appears to be wrapping about him his grave-clothes, that he may lie down to eternal sleep, preserves nevertheless all the treasures of his past experience. He

hath forgotten them, but they are not lost. He has but to breathe the airs of immortality, and the vigor of eternal youth is his; faded impressions revive; his childhood, youth, and hardy manhood pour all their treasures upon his mind and give back to him all that he has lived; the fields of memory rise in the past in all their flower and verdure; the fields of immortality rise before him and invite him to all their holy activities, among which decay and death shall be forever unknown. "O joy! that in our embers is something that doth live."

E. H. S.

---

ART. VI.—OXFORDISM AND THE ENGLISH CHURCH.\*

THE "Tracts for the Times" are very remarkable productions, remarkable for what they are and for what they are not. In a literary point of view, they are distinguished for the skill with which they are written, and equally distinguished for those qualities which we most want in works devoted to the investigation of religious truth. The great talent which they exhibit is a talent for *plausibility*—not the plausibility of a vigorous, though perverted logic, but of tone and form and solemn pretence. Their authors have much learning and much refinement of mind; but it would seem as if their whole intellectual discipline had been of that *artistical* kind, which makes one exquisitely sensitive to the form, and regardless of the substance. It would be difficult to refer to any late writings, in which more of that ability is found, which consists in hiding real weakness under an imposing manner, and in presenting propositions which will not bear a moment's examination under an attractive shape. The arts of rhetoric are very much at their command. They are masters of style;—not that they write in a style to suit any thing else,—but they know how to use words for their own purposes. They

---

\* *Tracts for the Times*. By Members of the University of Oxford. 5 vols. 8vo. Also, No's 89, and 90. London: J. G. F. & J. Rivington.

*Bernard Leslie*; or, a Tale of the Last Ten Years. By the Rev. W. GRESLEY, M. A., Prebendary of Lichfield. Third Edition. London. 1842. 12mo.

understand the whole art of timidly and with solemn awe suggesting absurdities which would bear no other statement, of venturing doubts, of asking questions, of hiding and half hiding ideas under sentences that at first sight seem full of meaning; and they know when also to express themselves clearly, and when to affirm with unhesitating dogmatism and presumptuous arrogance; and yet the dogmatism and the arrogance are uttered in so gentlemanly and equable a tone, that you are obliged to pause a moment before you see its real nature. All is artificial, and yet such admirable art, that it takes time to understand the delusion; nay, you are almost unwilling to understand it. In the kind of training to which they have subjected themselves, it seems as if the best qualities of the mind had been frittered away. There are few writers who seem to have less sensibility to truth, to common sense and to evidence, and few in our day, who might be expected to present any cause they espoused under more plausible aspects. They are not philosophers, nor theologians, nor reasoners, nor poets, but rhetoricians.

The social and moral tone of the Tracts is equally remarkable. They do not seem to be written by living men. No man who had struggled with poverty or felt the responsibility of wealth, who had contended for the mastery with bosom sins, or felt the force of passions and affections, or rejoiced when the living child was put into his arms, or mourned over the dead, no one who had looked to religion for succour and hope out of the depths and the trials of the real world, could have written as these men have done. Their writings have no sympathy with sinning, struggling, rejoicing, suffering, hoping, fearing humanity. Their religion is something outside and apart from man. It is not a religion for the ascetic, who scourges himself in his cave and weeps and moans over awful memories of guilt. It is not for men struggling in the heats and turmoil of the actual world. It is a religion which might suit dreaming scholars, living quietly and at ease amidst books and in abundance, amiable and passionless, or a tame, quiescent people, willing to labor from morning till night without thought; — but even with them, let them be roused by great interests, or overwhelmed by great trials, or let the slumbering passions that lie buried beneath all this quietude be kindled, and



such a religion would be as beds of flowers or rows of vines over the crater of a volcano. It is a religion to make quiet and dreaming men think it a virtue to be quiet and to dream. But it has little hold on the mightier springs of action in the human soul ; so little indeed, that in any great revolution, subjecting men to great reverses and trials, we should expect those who had identified it with Christianity, from the simple feeling of its powerlessness, to become infidels.

Another peculiarity is, that they have brought up to be re-discussed and re-judged, as if it were still an open question, a subject which we had thought laid to rest forever in Protestant Europe, namely, the authority of the Scriptures as a rule of faith. This is, and will soon, we think, be found to be the all-important question. It is a question of foundations ; — the old question, — on what shall we build ? As this is answered, every thing else will be answered. According to the size and shape of the foundation, will be the size and shape of the superstructure. He who rejects the authority of Popes and Councils, and he who accepts as of Divine authority the Creed of Pius IV., will obviously have few points of agreement. In many of the religious divisions of the day, the judgment passed on this preliminary question will decide all subordinate points. Thus as an illustration of its importance : — the Mormon builds his faith on the Bible *and* the book of Mormon ; the two together constitute his foundation. The character of the superstructure is determined by that of the foundation. The Swedenborgian builds on the Bible *and* the writings of Swedenborg. Most Presbyterians, not in theory perhaps, but as a matter of fact, build on the Bible *and* the Confession of Faith. The Catholic builds on the Bible *and* the traditions of the Church and decrees of Councils and Popes. The Tractarians build on the Bible *and* on the first five or six centuries of Christian history. The Bible is not broad enough to stand upon ; in order to find warrant for their views, they are obliged to attribute a sort of Divine authority to the customs and creeds of those whom they find it convenient to select as the Orthodox Fathers, as late at least as five hundred years after the death of the Saviour. We believe the discussion of this question will do good. Protestants have never more than half adopted the great principle of Protestantism — the sufficiency of the Scrip-

tures as the rule of faith. We cannot but hope that a controversy like this will lead all thinking men to see the necessity of giving up these false foundations and of taking their stand on true Protestant ground; lead them to see the necessity of building on CHRIST (not the Christ of Creeds and Church history, but of the New Testament) *as the true and only foundation.*

In our criticisms on these writings, we have no intention of suggesting a doubt of the good faith of the writers. We presume that they are as honest as men in general are in their opinions. But when men undertake to maintain and teach that the Divine grace cannot, or at any rate that we have no ground for expecting that it will, reach mankind except through the channel of a particular priesthood and the sacraments which they administer — that therefore a priest of a parish by shutting up his church may quarantine the Divine mercy — that the constituted heads of the Church by stopping the administration of the ordinances can lay an embargo which shall exclude the influences of the Holy Spirit from the whole kingdom — that they who have no control over Heaven's light have power to say when its grace shall be distributed, — while we do not question their good faith, we may question their presumptuous claims. There was something sublime in the Papal Interdict. The grandeur of the presumption half blinds us to its blasphemy. But when a respectable young man, social and amiable, hardly knowing what he is about and meaning nothing wrong, and who because his father or uncle owns a living has taken orders, strives to wield the lightnings of heaven and to say on what patches of earth God's sunlight shall fall, it is simply melancholy and ridiculous. And when these writers undertake to urge on all true churchmen the danger of marrying out of the Episcopal ranks\* — the peril of soul encountered by every Episcopal "Philip" who marries a Baptist "Letitia," on the ground that the Apostle warns us against being unequally yoked with unbelievers — when the bigotry which has shut up the gates of heaven would breathe with its blighting breath on the affections of earth, — while we do not doubt their honesty, we suppose that charity

---

\* See this matter discussed at much length and with great solemnity in Tract No. 40, on Baptism.

does not require us to believe in their common sense, or in their interpretation of the Scriptures.

One of the striking features of this movement is the number of new works in illustration or defence of their views, with which the Tractarians have flooded England. There must be among them much zeal and much leisure. Poems and plain sermons, treatises and tracts, translations of the Fathers and stories for children, setting forth the necessity of regeneration by baptism and the divine authority of Episcopacy, have poured forth from their presses in ceaseless stream. The literature of Puseyism, both for its amount and its peculiar character, would form an interesting subject for an article.

The second of the list of books at the head of these remarks, is a religious novel written for the defence and propagation of Puseyism. Bernard Leslie is first intended for the Law. He studies at Oxford, improves himself by foreign travel, and on his return, changing his original plan, prepares himself for holy orders. He represents himself as quite destitute of theological knowledge, and wholly uncommitted to either of the great rival parties in the Church, and indeed as altogether ignorant of the differences between them. The book is a history of the changes of his mind, at first vibrating towards Evangelicalism, and finally as his experience and knowledge increase, leaving that dangerous quicksand to establish itself on the solid ground of Puseyism. The principal actors, or rather interlocutors, in the story, are Rev. Watts Flavel and Rev. Mr. Manwaring, clergymen of neighboring parishes, to whom in his spiritual doubts and anxieties he appeals for counsel and with whom the main part of the various discussions is carried on. The first is one of the Evangelical party, of considerable talent and energy, but coarse, vulgar, and callous-hearted in his treatment of human souls, and so entirely depending on Justification by Faith, that he manifestly holds good works in great contempt. The other is a Tractarian and of course is in appearance very mild, intellectual, and beneficent, a gentleman, a scholar, and devoted to his duties as a parochial minister. There are other subordinate personages. Through one or the other all the great questions which now distract the English Church are brought up for discussion, and the decision, as one would ex-



pect, is always against Evangelicalism and Dissent. The author sets up a platoon of men of straw, and then shows his skill in overturning them. In reading, one cannot but feel that it is a very convenient mode of conducting a controversy — this of shaping an adversary's argument to suit yourself before answering it. It saves a world of trouble, and frees one from all difficulty with facts and objections which might otherwise obstruct the course of a triumphant and self-complacent argument. In the progress of the volume, the divine rights of bishops, the three-fold ministry, regeneration by baptism, the desirableness of strictly following the rubric, the sacraments as the channels of Divine grace, the awful peril to which all ministers expose themselves who without being Episcopally ordained presume to administer the sacraments, and the great importance of observing the various fasts, festivals, saints' days, and ceremonies of the Church, are each in turn duly insisted on and supposed to be established. The evidence in favor of the Puseyite views is made to satisfy some indifferent person, or to overwhelm a foe.

The work is written with much literary tact and skill. We can easily believe, what we have been told, that it has been more influential in making converts to the Tractarian views than any other single work that has been published. And yet one of the remarkable features of the book is the small amount of reasons which Bernard Leslie finds sufficient to satisfy him of the most momentous propositions, and the slender arguments which he finds sufficient to overwhelm and convince others. The same thing is characteristic of nearly all the writers of the party to which he belongs. Their reasoning powers appear to be inverted. Their eyes seem constructed like those of moles, to see what is insignificant. A grain of sand can be seen, but a mountain, from its magnitude, is invisible. The eye cannot take in enough of it to gain any idea of its size or proportions. It is so with their mode of reasoning. A few awful words and an appeal to the Prayer-Book seem sufficient to settle any question. Nothing appears so satisfactory to them as an astounding absurdity or self-contradiction sustained by a weak argument. Yet it is not in this way that living men are convinced; and it shows conclusively, we think, that there are other great and powerful

causes in operation, originating and carrying on this work, altogether independent of and infinitely more effectual than the theological arguments by which it is supported. To some of these we shall presently refer.

Before doing so, however, there is one other characteristic that distinguishes nearly all these writings, which we will not entirely pass over, and that is, the insolent arrogance, the assumption of authority, the tone of patronizing contempt that pervades and characterizes the whole current of their reasonings, appeals and exhortations. It is a tone which does not become the English Church. Neither her learning nor her labors warrant her assuming it. For the last hundred years, notwithstanding her Universities and the great advantages of her priesthood, she has added but little of value to theological literature. During that whole period very few works have come from that Church which a scholar would think worth the quoting. Learning and eloquence both seem to have taken refuge in the ranks of Dissent. Infinitely more meagre does its theological literature appear, when compared with the productions of the poor, but enthusiastic and faithful, scholars of Germany. If its deserts are small here, they are still less when we come to consider its labors of usefulness. Certainly of all the different sects in England, in proportion to its means, the Episcopal has done the least.

But this is a topic respecting which we feel little concern. Unitarians have been in the habit of encountering a similar arrogance from all the sects around them. In this case, it is withdrawn from them to be lavished on each other. We may charitably hope that this experience of each other's assumption and bigotry will serve to diminish their amount.

Our remarks on these writings have been prompted certainly by no unkind feelings. We should be sorry to see the English Church fall, for in the present state of things in England we doubt very much if any thing as good would take its place. With their views of Church government we have no sympathy; but so far as the main points in debate between the Tractarians and Evangelicals are concerned, admitting what in general both sides admit, we think the former have the right of it. There can be no doubt that their sacred book — if we may so call the Book

of Common Prayer — does teach, for example, the doctrine of regeneration by baptism. Then we like their theology better than that of the Evangelicals. It may not agree so well with the Thirty-nine Articles, but defective and perverse as it is, it comes somewhat nearer to common sense and the Scriptures. The interest which we take in the subject is not that of partisans, but that which all must take who see in these great religious movements the seeds of much future good or evil.

Turning then from other topics;—what are we to think of the origin, nature and prospects of this Puseyite party in the English Church? This question would introduce naturally two very different trains of remark. It might lead us to examine the truth of the Tractarian views as forming a system of theology and their relation to other systems; or without regarding the truth or error of the opinions set forth, we may look at those other and more general causes, political as well as religious, which have kindled up this sudden fervor of Episcopal zeal in England. It is to the latter point that we shall confine ourselves. But looking at it in this light, in order to understand this Oxford movement, there are several previous circumstances in the history of the Established Church that must be called to mind.

—In the first place, it is a State religion. The Church of England, as such, owes its origin, not to the authority of Christ, but to the lusts of a king. For centuries before the time of Henry VIII., England had been one of the tamest countries in Christendom in its submission to the authority of the Papal See. The exactions of the Pope had however pressed heavily on the native clergy, and this had alienated their affections from him and disposed them to seek protection from the State. Henry found a people accustomed to believe as they were taught, and a clergy disciplined to submission and prepared to side with him in a contest with Rome.

The Reformation in England was the work of Henry, and the prompters to it were his passions. It originated not in the diffusion of Christian truth, nor in the zeal of reformers; it was not the work of the clergy, nor of the Church. Had Henry's divorce from Catherine received the sanction of the Pope, not a question would have been



raised as to his authority. At the bidding of Henry, Parliament voted what the clergy should preach and what the people should believe. Protestant Episcopacy in England was established not by the grace of God, but by Act of Parliament. The modifications which it received under Edward and Elizabeth, and which it has undergone since, have emanated from the same source. The King is the head of the Church. He appoints the Bishops, and the Government or the aristocracy hold in their possession a vast part of the property of the Church. Hence the Church is rightly regarded as the creature and instrument of the State, and at the same time as one of its strongest buttresses. Hence every good citizen who cares little about Christian truth, and all pious men who find that truth in the Thirty-nine Articles and who are really imbued with the spirit of English institutions, equally feel that they must uphold that which is the religion of their country according to law. The nobility and the King will always patronize the Church, for the same reason that Charlemagne and Pepin sustained the Papacy, — because the whole of its strength will be at the service of the Crown. The altar props the throne. And so closely are the property, rights and privileges of the Establishment blended and bound up with the privileges and powers of the monarchy and nobility, that its destruction would be like pulling the main arch away from under a bridge; while, on the other hand, the throne could not fall without dragging down the altar in the general ruin.

A true churchman in England, in the spirit of the Church, is conservative. In his view, no change is likely to be for the better. Everything is so entirely on an artificial basis in England, that change of any kind must be to all a work of serious anxiety. It is like removing a cog or wheel of a great machine while it is in motion — dangerous to the operator and to the machine. But to no being on earth can change seem more fearful than to an English Churchman. The Church is the weak part in the monarchy — the first that will be assailed — the most easily overthrown; and a Churchman will not only dread change as endangering the existence of the Church established by law, but he will dread it as ominous of rapidly hastening changes in government and perhaps of its utter subversion.

A man may be a Churchman without being a Christian ; but he cannot be so without being conservative. A Churchman — we speak of natural tendencies arising out of his position — is the conservative of conservatives. He cleaves to the old, established landmarks as essential, not to convenience, but to existence. Sooner would the settler loosen the *levee* when the Mississippi is at flood, than the Churchman loosen any of the old embankments that resist the democratic pressure of the age. This is one circumstance to show how naturally and reasonably the Oxfordites cleave to the past, and are strenuous sticklers for the faithful observance of all the requirements of the rubric and the canons. A slight change may not terminate in itself, and is not to be regarded as one single departure from a prescribed course, but rather as a loosening of the whole immense fabric. And thus, white gowns and black gowns, praying east or west, lighted or unlighted candles and flowers on the communion table, saints' days and the psalm before sermon, become questions of serious moment, worthy of occupying the attention of the clergy and demanding the solemn decision of Bishops.

Again ; after a long period of religious inanition, in the earlier and middle part of the last century, with the Wesleys and Whitfields, began a great revival. If a fire be kindled, all around it are warmed. Wesley not only built up the great sect of the Methodists and awakened amongst them an enthusiastic devotion, but in doing this he quickened with new life all the surrounding sects. Religion has less power over the superstitions of men than it once had, but since the time of Wesley it has had a vastly greater and constantly increasing power over their thoughts. The ministry has become more active and a higher standard of character is demanded. The great missionary movements, the Bible, Tract and other similar Societies, the endeavor to increase the number of churches, the multiplication of sects, and more than all perhaps, the immensely increased number of religious books, of such especially as have had their origin in and are intended to control or guide religious emotion, are only so many signs of increased interest in religion. The lethargy of the Established Church has been stirred, and it emulates and rivals the zeal of the Dissenters. But this religious interest will manifest itself

variously, according to the social position, intellectual tastes and moral wants of those who feel it. The religious feeling may be much the same, but it will exhibit itself in very different ways in the luxurious, intellectual, fastidious, aristocratic incumbent of an Oxford fellowship, and in a toiling, poorly clad, poorly fed, poorly housed artisan of Birmingham. Their temptations, their wants, their dangers, their tastes are different, and religion will be different to them.

Again, and perhaps more than any single circumstance, the political aspect of the times is to be taken into account. Everything, with the irresistible current of the rapids above Niagara, moves on towards a great democratic revolution. Look back over any considerable period of years, and the power of the Crown has sensibly diminished. The nobility may retain the same nominal rights, but within a hundred years their relative position has been greatly changed. Commerce and manufactures have raised up new powers to counterbalance the power of the agricultural nobles. Formerly legislation was for the advantage of the landholders, that is, for the aristocracy. Now the very pillars of the corn-laws are shaken by these new Samsons of the mill and the workshop. It is hardly twenty years since the Westminster Review was first published. The Radical party was then the horror of conservatism. Now the Radicals are in the comparison conservative, while — a lower deep! — three millions of Chartists, as if emerging from some dark mine, from some subterranean abode of night and despair, have come up to the day and pretend to rights. The Reform Bill has thrown new power into the hands of the people. As great changes have taken place in political religion. Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the Test Laws, the suppression of several Irish Bishoprics, and other acts of the same description have taken from the Church much of her power, so that, compared with her ancient state, she is left almost like giant Pope in *Pilgrim's Progress*, feeble and broken, "grown so crazy and stiff in the joints, that he can now do little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them." The Irish Church trembles to its foundation, and half of England rebels against the payment of tithes for the support of a



priesthood whose doctrine and discipline they condemn. The Rebeccaites are filling Wales with confusion, and, as if it were a recently conquered province, the peace is kept in Ireland only by a vast standing army.

Everything in England is calculated to foster a dread of change. There is not much elasticity in her constitution, and various artificial arrangements have made what it has the elasticity of glass rather than of a living substance. To sustain agriculture, the Corn Laws were established; and it is estimated by those opposed to them, that the wheat consumed in England has cost, during the fifty years ending with 1840, above eleven hundred millions of pounds sterling more than it would have done if imported free of duty from Berlin. In order that manufacturers and others may stagger along under this enormous burden, they too must be protected against foreign rivalry by protecting duties. The Poor laws and the Poor-rates reveal the awful wastes and deserts of poverty that surround vast and unnatural accumulations of wealth. While, above all, the national debt presses with crushing weight on all efforts to relieve the nation of its great evils, and deranges prices, rents, business, and all the relations of society. The mighty fabric of English power seems to be built on a quaking bog, or rather over a vast mine, where the fire-damp lies silent and motionless for the moment, but ready to explode if a single torch be thrown into its awful abysses.

These things are mentioned merely to show, how circumstances conspire to make sober men in England conservative. They naturally ask, — what changes can we reasonably look for, from which we can reasonably hope that England shall be put into a better state than she is in now; while all must confess that slight changes may lead on to all the disasters of a revolution. Safety lies in leaving things as they are. A ship whose timbers are unsound can go into port and refit, but to strike out the rotten planks in her hull at sea is destruction. England is at sea — she cannot put into port — she must keep on her way till her destiny is completed. This reasoning may not be correct, but it is natural, and will commend itself to multitudes who, personally, would rather enjoy than fear the excitements of the storm. How much more will it commend itself to those whose element is peace, and all whose

dignities and advantages depend on things remaining as they are.

In such a state of society, imagine one bred in the Halls of Oxford, living in its retirements, and dependent for his support, his social position and comfort, and for all his prospects, on those very institutions which in case of a revolution would be the first to be attacked, and which without any revolution are obnoxious always to attack. Self-interest makes him peculiarly sensitive to the approach of change. A Fellow or Professor of the University, he is lifted out from collision with the ruder and unpolished mass. His communion is with books. His society is with the dead, who do not change, who always repeat the same words, who are always to be found in the same place, who, whatever their principles, never disturb the living by unexpected threats and violence, by anti-corn-law leagues and Chartist organizations. All his most important personal relations are with the class that profits from the present order of things, and his sympathies are naturally where his relations are. He may at some period of his life have known the trials of the poor scholar, but at length, surrounded by the dignities and immunities of lettered ease, there is nothing in his present state to remind him of the trials of the mass. His whole intellectual, moral and social culture has unfitted him to take part in any revolution. Whoever rises to the top, he is sure to be crushed at the bottom. He looks out from the loopholes of his retreat — from his green bowers of quietness and luxurious ease — and all around, far as the eye can reach, heaves a vast sea of angry men, impatient of their present state, with no fastidious delicacy about disturbing him or his, shaggy and clamorous and gnashing their teeth at the memory of centuries of real or fancied wrong. Again; he and his class are the ones appointed by Act of Parliament to monopolize learning — he has sworn to the Thirty-nine Articles — he is an inhabitant of the University — here he thought himself on sacred ground, set off and *taboed* from vulgar approach. When lo! he learns that the schoolmaster is abroad, and mechanics pretend to study science, and writers on Political Economy appeal from the judgment of the few to that of the many, and even in religion the multitude pretend to demand reasons and to

form opinions. Half of England profanely declares that it sees no sanctity in the Church, and a quarter of England thinks that the Bench of Bishops might be abated without the world's coming to an end. Even the holy ground of the University is invaded, and exacting Dissenters, never satisfied with what is given to pacify them, demand as a right to be admitted to its privileges, even though they do not sign the Athanasian creed. In the Church itself, multitudes feel no great regard for its forms, and think that if a man be a Christian, he will probably be saved, though he be not regenerated by baptism. All is rude, rough; no refinement, no respect for hereditary rights and immemorial privilege; the low without any proper sense of their inferiority, and the high unaware of their danger. Timid and startled, he looks around for the means of defence.

There are two different courses which such men pursue. Some retreat into the citadel, and surrender up or level the outworks. But others feel that every outwork must be manned, and every point defended, — that the true system is, to put as many obstructions in the way of the enemy as possible, and to surrender nothing till compelled to do so.

Such we conceive, in some sort, to be the position of the leaders of the Oxford theology. They are more or less dependent on the aristocracy, the dispensers of patronage. Their temporal prospects depend on the continuance of the unequal laws and unjust monopolies of which they have the advantage. Their intellectual habits and pursuits, their associations, their interests, their social position, their hopes and their fears, all make them cleave to the old ways, make them not only conservative, but dispose them naturally to maintain all ancient fixtures. It is a position too, which would naturally incline them to look with favor on the divine rights and the large authority of Bishops. Increase the power of the Episcopate, and they are more secure in all they most value. It certainly does not imply any harshness of judgment to think that they will be the supporters of the Divine authority of the Church, much sooner than will they whose consciences are fettered and oppressed by such claims.

What then are the prospects of the Oxford theology? There is of course nothing in it which will commend it to any but Episcopalians; but so far as England is concerned,



there are many reasons for thinking that *within* the Church it will make great progress. Most of the present Bishops have indeed — some with more, and some with less qualification — decided against its peculiarities. But they will soon pass off the stage and be succeeded by others; and it would be surprising if Oxfordism did not soon rank among its adherents a large part of the Church dignitaries and the clergy, and a very great body of the Episcopalian laity. The folly and absurdity of its great principles are no hindrance to its spread. Folly and absurdity are never weights, far more often are wings, to opinions. Men feel that they ought to make sacrifices to religion, and there is nothing which they are more ready to sacrifice than their common sense. Calvinism, Millerism, Mormonism, and a thousand other modes of faith equally unreasonable, show how readily this is done.

The first cause of the spread of the Tractarian theology is to be found in those circumstances which make men conservative in England. A vast party there must always be conservative, and that in the extreme sense of the word. Oxfordism appeals to them and presents claims which they cannot set aside. It is the religion of the Prayer Book. As a matter of fact, it does pretty fairly represent the primitive Anglican Church. To be sure, the attempts made during the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth to conciliate the opposing views of the Sovereign, the people, the Catholics, the Lutherans, and various other interests, and to accommodate the formularies of the Church to their conflicting prejudices, have filled the formularies themselves with inconsistencies. But passing over these, the Tractarians do stand on substantially the same ground as that occupied by the framers of the Liturgy and the Articles. The main difference is, that they have changed their front — that the latter looked *from*, while the former are looking *to* Rome. But notwithstanding this, they cleave to the old fixtures. They stand by the old paths. They abhor all change. And they will thus secure the sympathy and support of Conservatism. And not from this circumstance alone, but also because their principles are of a kind to keep things as they are. They would put power into the hands of the higher classes alone. They would establish things as they were before men began to speculate on the

rights of the people. It is a religion to secure the higher orders in their various monopolies of power and privilege, and to make the lower classes tame, submissive and resigned. It makes it the duty of the Sovereign and the Bishop to issue commands and declare laws, and the duty of the common people to bear and obey, asking no questions. Passive faith and passive obedience are its great virtues. In this way Oxfordism appeals to the conservative feeling in England.

Again, the Government of England is aristocratic. The Constitution places, either directly or indirectly, nearly all the power in the hands of the nobility or of those whose sympathies are with them. They do in fact constitute the State. The Church by various circumstances of dependence is, always has been, and never can be more in its political connexions than a tool of the State.\* The

---

\* These views are not impugned, as we conceive, by the present, temporary and accidental, opposition of Oxfordism to the policy of Government. It is said, that "the Irish Church Act of 1833, which abolished several of the Irish Bishoprics, was the immediate occasion of the publication of the Tracts." Their authors were alarmed at the interference of Government, and dreaded lest the disposition manifested to yield to the demand for Church reform should prepare the way for its ultimate disorganization and destruction. Let the ark be touched by unholy hands, and it would soon be trampled under godless feet. In the language of the *London Quarterly* of May 1843:—"They feared that the power of the State, guided by Dissenting interests, was about to oppress and degrade the Church, and they were driven, we may almost say instinctively, to seek strength for the Church within herself, by a return to the principles and practices of those ancient times when her intrinsic force counterbalanced, nay, defied the power of the State." But this hostility of the Tractarians to the policy of Government means little. It is the opposition not of foes, but of friends, who seek the strength and permanence of both. It is as if, when an army was in an enemy's country, the soldiers and petty officers, alarmed at the relaxation of authority at head-quarters, should call on the Commanding General to exercise a more rigorous discipline. The Church and the State are too closely identified in all their interests to allow of any serious quarrel between them. At any rate, while the Monarchy remains as it is now, the Church will never alienate herself from it. It would be as if a tree were to cut up its own roots and sever itself from the soil whence it drew all its nourishment.

Nor, on the other hand, can the Church ever defy the State. The Catholic Church even, when at the strongest, could not do this except for one or two brief intervals, and was never able to break and subdue the Government to her will. That which the Papacy, when she could appeal to the superstitious terrors alike of noble and peasant, could not accomplish, Episcopacy, in an age when she can have little hold on the superstitions of men, and when other great powers and interests have grown up in England that would support the State against her aggressions, will

Church is as much the instrument of the Government as the army or navy; and for the same reason that it would strengthen the army or navy, it will favor all measures or views which seem fitted to strengthen and extend the power of the Church. Oxfordism, teaching the Divine right of kings and passive obedience on the part of the people, and accumulating power in the hands of the Bishop only to lay it at the foot of the throne, can never fail of finding favor with the head of the Church. If it seem to have any reasonable chance of securing general acceptance with the people, it will be certain to have the sympathy and favor of the Government; and governmental sympathy, coming in the shape of enormous patronage, will in its turn be a powerful support to the new opinions. Ambitious young men among the clergy will easily find strong arguments in favor of those views through which the way lies to Cathedral stalls and Bishops' palaces.

There are few who do not love power, few who are not tempted by the offer of it. Oxfordism puts the keys of heaven and hell into the hands of the clergy. Though they be destitute of intelligence and destitute of virtue, mere ordination invests them with Divine power. It gives them authority to declare the truth, relieves them from the necessity of giving a reason, and requires the laity to submit. The history of human nature, as modified and colored by hierarchies, would lead us to expect that the greater prospect of patronage, the favor of the higher classes on whom that patronage depends, and the temptation of power would secure to Oxfordism nearly all the young men who now enter the Church. And such as we should expect, appears to be the fact. The strength and hope of Oxfordism, we are told, is among the younger clergy.

Oxfordism will find another powerful support, among the laity, in the natural or acquired *vis inertiae* of the conscience and intellect. The great mass of men and women certainly do not, and probably never will, form their religious opinions from any serious thought and examination of their own. Immersed in one worldly pursuit or another,

---

not attempt. There may be momentary jars and disagreements and lovers' quarrels, but she will continue to be, what she always has been, the subservient instrument of the State, so long as the State will protect her.



they are anxious to have some one who will take the responsibility in religion. Any one who will affirm that he knows he is right, and that whoever does not receive his notions must sink into perdition, will have followers. In this lies the power of fanatics and zealots. They take the responsibility. Their followers feel relieved from the guilt and danger of error, when their leaders invoke it all to rest on themselves.

To this worldliness, this mental and moral sluggishness, this dread of taking responsibility in religion, and to the timid feeling which craves some authority on which to lean, the Anglican Church addresses itself in most persuasive words. 'We are the true, primitive, Apostolic Church. The Holy Spirit reaches men through our ordinances and sacraments alone. We hold the truth. Our Bishops are the Divinely appointed successors of the Apostles. The Church of England is the true interpreter of the Scriptures. It is our duty, solemn and awful as it is, to do all the thinking and to divide the word of truth among the people. Submit to the paternal care and guidance of the Church. If you speculate, you are in danger of heresy. Faith is the great virtue. If you are in doubt, go to those guides that God has given you — to the Prayer Book or the priest.' Not only is the Episcopal Church the appointed guide of all true believers, but out of its pale, cut off as one must be from that Divine grace and regeneration which come through the sacraments, there is no ordinary hope of salvation. This is the real doctrine of their Creeds and Liturgy; and this great point Oxfordism especially insists on. A sect which takes this ground of infallibility, and which unhesitatingly dooms to perdition all out of its own petty enclosure, will always, if we may trust the history of the last eighteen hundred years, have a multitude of ready and submissive followers. And all the more, when its offices are filled by men respectable for education, character, manners, and social position.

Many other causes are at work. Some come to these views through sober study and unbiassed conviction. The sentimental, and those having a certain sort of after-dinner imagination depending on external stimulants for its excitement, and the lovers of the beautiful in art and outward arrangement, and all of that large class in a luxurious state

of society whose minds are fastidious but sluggish, and who want emotions, but emotions of a refined and quiet kind, are attracted by the forms of the Church. The sensitive lovers of social order, shrinking from the strife, the violent and often vulgar contests, of Dissent, take shelter in a Church where the minister will preach and pray according to law; where they will be shocked by no novelties; where they know beforehand just how he will pray, and do not care how he preaches. Then there is a pious, humble leaning on authority — a sentiment weak, but respectable — which naturally finds its way to those who, from Bishops' palaces and from the House of Lords, have the moral courage to proclaim themselves the representatives of the Apostles. Then there are multitudes who find the regeneration of baptism easier than the regeneration of a new life, who are ready to sign Thirty-nine Articles and thirty-nine more on the top of them, if faith will save them, who like to think that a solemn feeling in the church will compensate for worldliness during the week, and who are glad to be partakers of the divine life, if they can gain it by partaking of the sacraments. These, and such as these, naturally cleave to a Church which makes so much of creeds and sacraments and forms.

But the real power of this movement and its prospect of successful and permanent progress depend mainly, not on these causes, but on those upon which we have chiefly dwelt: — on the feeling of conservatism, which is the natural and must be one of the strongest feelings of the privileged and more powerful classes of England, and with which Oxfordism is united in the closest bonds of alliance; on the power and privilege which these views throw into the hands of the clergy; and on the patronage of Government, which is sure to be with this party as soon as it shows that there is any prospect of its having popular sympathy on its side. These are solid, substantive, permanent causes of growth, independent on the ordinary fluctuations of the times. And in the long run, the constant force, though in itself feeble, has the advantage over the irregular and fluctuating one, however great this may occasionally be.

It is difficult to over-estimate the influence of these constant forces. For example, the existence of the Episcopal Church itself, in its present form, is probably very much

dependent on its Prayer Book. One little fixture of that kind, never changed, is often sufficient to preserve the identity and to determine the measures of a large sect. It is like a pile driven down in the middle of a river. It is a small thing; but no one wants the trouble of drawing it up out of the mud in which it is fixed. There it remains. Great ships, that go up and down, turn out for it. Floating rubbish collects around it. An island is formed, the bed of the river itself is changed, a wharf is built out to it, or a lighthouse erected on it. Every thing that is moveable finally conforms to whatever is fixed, however small in itself.

But Oxfordism has for its support, not merely a creed and a liturgy, but great interests, national and individual, which must be as fixed and durable as the British throne. It is for this reason, that we cannot help believing that its views will, in substance and in some modified form, be those of the National Church. We do not mean to say, that every notion of the Tractarians will be adopted, nor that the more heated spirits among them will guide the policy of the Establishment. Doubtless extravagancies will be lopped off, its leanings towards Catholicism will be corrected and checked, and perhaps the arrogance of its tone may be somewhat abated. But it seems evident to us, that this movement owes its origin and its progress thus far, not merely to the reveries of a few enthusiastic dreamers, but to great and permanent causes, that it is in accordance with the spirit and the words of the formularies of the Episcopal sect, and that the principles which the Tractarians have set forth, limited and qualified as they undoubtedly will be by men more prudent than those who have thus far taken the lead in propagating them, will become and very likely continue to be the principles of the English Church.

What we have said applies, it should be remembered, to Oxfordism, only in its progress within the bounds of the Church. There is no reason for supposing that it will be able to extend itself and gain proselytes from those who are now outside those bounds. Oxfordism can have no charms for Dissent, which will win back to the bosom of the Establishment those who were repelled by less arrogant pretensions.



But will it become identified with Catholicism? We think not. The fears of those who apprehend this are groundless. The celibacy of the clergy, and the great domestic and social changes which such an event would involve, would probably be sufficient to prevent it. But the great reason for thinking that the English Church can never be blended with the Romish is, that great and permanent national interests forbid it. It would depose the King from his supremacy over the Church and install the Pope in his place. It would transfer patronage to a foreign power. The Church would no longer be the mere instrument of the State, but a rival, even though a subordinate power, *in* the State. As in the days of Becket and Henry II., the Primate and the King would be rivals, and the Church would strive to dictate, instead of waiting submissively to be dictated to, by Parliament.

In these views of the progress of Oxfordism we have left out of the account the growth of the mind, the progress of knowledge and truth, and the power of conscience, for we have little reason to suppose that they will have much to do either in advancing or retarding this movement. In past times, with now and then a brief struggle to the contrary, the religious faith of the majority of the English people has for the most part been determined by the will of the King, by Acts of Parliament and by the interests of the State; and it can scarcely be doubted, that for a long time to come, the political and economical condition of England will have more to do with giving character to the Established Church than any thing else.

Another and different question is, — what will be the ultimate fate of this movement?

Oxfordism may be regarded as an experiment for breathing new life, infusing new blood, into the withered limbs of the Establishment. Circumstances render it probable that it will in some modified form become the religion of the English Church, and that for a time it will strengthen it. We have heard it compared, and we think justly, with the attempts made by Julian to re-vivify the old and worn-out Paganism of the Roman empire. But as with him, so in the present case, the experiment comes too late. It is a stimulant administered to a dying man. Doubtless Episcopacy, in some form or other, will continue to exist as one

of the forms of sectarian organization. But everything gives augury, as it seems to us, (though we suppose that few, with the vast and solid power of England before their eyes, will agree with us in these forebodings of change) that the days of the English Church, as a national Establishment, are numbered. It appears hardly possible that the Irish Church should long continue to exist. It is too oppressive and too manifestly unjust. Half of the English people are already Dissenters. Within the last thirty years changes have taken place in the English Government almost equivalent to a revolution, and everything shows that these changes have but just begun. Any radical change in the British Constitution will probably begin with the State religion. Most potent political and economical reasons urge the Catholics of Ireland and the Dissenters of England to rid themselves of the burden of a Church which scorns and lords it over them, which first compels them to pay tithes for its support, and in return taunts them with heresy, shuts them out from the seats of learning, would gladly as far as it has the power crush them with civil disabilities, and while it excludes them as far as it can, places its own Bishops in the seat of empire in the House of Lords.

Nothing, we believe, keeps the National Church, as such, in existence, but the conviction of all in it and of many out of it, that the subversion of its power and national character, unholy as it is, would be the signal for stripping the nobility of their privileges, and for a disastrous revolution in the English State. With the history of France before their eyes, they pause before the awful gulf, and bear the evils which they now endure, rather than encounter those which are unknown and to which such a change might lead the way.

But notwithstanding these conservative influences, everything in England seems converging towards a revolution — peaceful and gradual we believe it will be, because the real strength of England, organized and unorganized, on all sides would combine to suppress any violent changes — but still a revolution. It may be the slow work of many years; but it has already made no slight progress, and it is advancing with the steadiness, though it may be with the silence, of the tide. Let it continue to advance as rapidly as it has

done since the conclusion of the European wars on the fall of Napoleon, and how long will it be before its mighty currents begin to wash and wear against the foundations of the Church? The time is, we believe, rapidly approaching, when the Episcopal Church as a State religion will come to an end, and Oxfordism will disappear with the National Church of which it is only an accident. What form religion may take when she emerges out of the chaos, no man may venture to conjecture.

As to Oxfordism in this country: — whatever rouses and quickens any sect will increase and extend its power. At this moment Episcopacy is apparently on the increase, and if we except the Baptists, Methodists, and Universalists, and one or two other Churches, is spreading perhaps as fast as any sect among us. Oxfordism has vivified its lethargy for the time being; and there are various reasons, such as, for example, the power and dignity it gives to the priesthood, which will very likely cause it to be received with favor by the younger clergy. Its best chance of permanence and progress depends on the great fund which the Episcopal Church holds in the city of New York. This is one of those fixed and constant elements of power and influence, of which we have spoken. If this fund should be for a series of years under the control of those who embrace the Oxford theology, the Puseyites will form a large and powerful sect.

But in this country Oxfordism is an exotic. It may flourish for a season — it may be the rage for a summer; but it does not belong here. It is alien to our institutions. Episcopacy, and especially this Oxford form of it, has closest relations with Monarchy. James was right in his maxim, “no Bishop, no King.” But Oxfordism has no affinities with Republicanism. It takes hold of no strong feeling or sympathy in the people, meets no great want, can rely on no great and general interest. It must be remembered that we are not discussing the truth or falsehood of the Tractarian notions, but considering those influences which, independently of truth and falsehood, tend to promote or retard the progress of a sect. Viewed in this light, Oxfordism in this country must depend mainly for its existence on those secondary causes to which we have referred — on caprice, fashion, transient admiration and imitation of foreign novel-



ties, the idea of respectability, the love of form or order, — causes as fluctuating as the waves of the sea, and on which no permanent Church, whose great idea is to keep stationary, can ever be erected.

There is one cause of a more permanent character, which perhaps influences some minds. There are those who feel little confidence in the stability of our institutions. They are full of anticipations of change, disorder and disaster. It is with them somewhat as it was with most men during the disorder and violence of the middle ages. In the midst of universal confusion they wanted something that should be stable — some rock in the heaving seas, beneath whose sheltering lea they might anchor. This element of stability they found in the Catholic Church. So some to whom we have referred, led away by the pretensions of Episcopacy to stability, may think that the steady order and harmony which they want will be found within her bosom. But this cause can have no great influence. Those men who are operated upon by such fears, are generally men of sufficient information to know that the Episcopal sect has been anything but harmonious and united. It certainly has not had more of steadiness and union than Presbyterianism, and far less of both than Methodism. They who wish for something permanent and united must look somewhere else than to Episcopacy.

Putting aside all considerations, as we have purposely done in this article, of truth or error, of wisdom or folly, while in England every thing conspires to make Oxfordism the religion of the National Church, its want of real sympathy with our great principles, with our manners, notions of authority, and institutions, preclude the idea of its having any permanent and general hold on our people. The priesthood may for a time cherish what is so gratifying to vanity in their closets, and speculate about it in their writings, but they will not bring its most offensive and real characteristics into the pulpit. After furnishing for a time a subject for speculation and debate, it will be silently consigned over to the region to which so many past delusions, dreams and follies have gone.

E. P.

## ART. VII.—THE HUGUENOTS IN FRANCE AND AMERICA.\*

WE believe this work has been much read, and we rejoice if it be so. We like the spirit of its author, the subject she has chosen, the taste indicated in the public by the success of such works, and the influence they are likely to exert.

To those who question the advance of civilization and doubt the progress of the human intellect, a pleasant sign might gleam from the literary heavens in certain constellations of female authors. Once an authoress was as much wondered at as a comet; now when she appears at intervals before the public, people look on as calmly and happily as when they watch the rising and setting of the moon. She is no dismal portent, but men "bless the useful light;" and the very fact that there is no more wonder, that it is no distinction to be an authoress, indicates a change which pervades the heart and whole frame of society. Woman is changed, and so is man. The relation between the two is changed, is *rationalized*, purified, elevated. We believe that woman need not and should not claim, or even sigh for much more than she now holds in sentiment. And as the sentiment grows truer and deeper, all else will spring from it. As the heart of man understands her best influence, and is made to feel her equality by the blessing it brings him, the outward expression will follow. Marriages will be rightly formed, the customs of society rightly modified, the very laws of the land gradually remodelled, wherever they now infringe upon the true good of woman. No discontented murmurs, hot clamors for rights, nor Amazonian intrepidity in claiming or defending them, will accomplish this; but the quiet, almost unperceived growth of power in woman's own nature, by which she will silently take the place God intended, finding none to thrust back, many to welcome. We believe that her own ignorance and unfitness kept her back for ages; man not being willing, it is true, to remove either, because he did not dream of the nature that slumbered beneath. Now nothing but her own arrogance and

---

\* *The Huguenots in France and America.* By the AUTHOR of "Three Experiments of Living," "Life and Times of Martin Luther," "Life and Times of Thomas Cranmer," &c. Cambridge: John Owen. 1843. 2 vols. 12mo.

injudicious ambition can delay her progress to such a position, in every respect, as a well-constituted mind can ask.

The day of force is past, long ago. Man no longer rules by brute strength. The day of ridicule is past. He no longer sneers at a woman who reads three or four languages, or writes an unpretending book; hardly at one who undertakes to talk logically or metaphysically. If she write a good book, it will be just as much read, and do just as much good, as if it came from a masculine pen. And if she talk well, her words will be heard as attentively, and will effect as much in the hearer, as if uttered by the strong voice of man.

We know that this is denied, and we grant that, like all rules, this has its exceptions; and that not only mere men of the world and fools, but even wise men sometimes scorn wise words from female lips, and sometimes quote against them foolish old sayings, the not hallowed relics of ancient barbarism. Such exceptions there always will be. But we speak of prevailing sentiment. We only maintain that there is decided, and of late rapid, progress towards the establishment of a genuine equality between the sexes. There are false tests of equality. We do not think equality consists only in the exercise of the very same privileges, but in the establishment of fair equivalents, where the same privileges cannot be conveniently held. We do not think it would be convenient for women to vote or hold public offices, nor that their health, manners, or temper would be benefitted, if law and custom sanctioned the laying on their shoulders such enormous burdens of care and temptation. They find themselves weak enough, and frail enough, spared and sheltered as they now are. Can any one believe that a country would present the spectacle of a region more quietly, discreetly, and firmly governed, if woman had one half of the political control, with her impetuous temperament, and hasty reasonings — half intuitions as they are. and her excitable nerves? We hold, that the position allowed, the influence yielded to woman as an author, — a writer of tracts on Political Economy, for instance, — is a fair equivalent for the doubtful boon of a right to appoint public officers. If she have intellectual and moral ability, she can sway public opinion and action; and what more can the disinterested desire of



usefulness prompt her to ask? Not notoriety, surely; not incessant concession till nothing more is left. Vanity only can demand the one, pride the other.

We doubt if many women of intelligent minds, settled habits of useful occupation, and true Christian humility, can be found among those who are dissatisfied with the present prospects, we might almost say, position of the sex. We use the term Christian humility, because we mean only such humility as befits both sexes alike. There is such a thing as instinctive, feminine, modesty; which is a grace, a loveliness by itself. But we speak here of Christian humility, which, like every Christian virtue, is required no more in woman than in man. Will not nearly all such women exclaim, 'We feel no privation, we bear no burden, the yoke has never galled our necks?' So at least cry all happy wives and mothers, and they are many in the many blessed homes of New England.

For ourselves, we feel that a woman received as the author of the *Three Experiments of Living* was received, stands on an acknowledged footing of equality with the other sex. The popularity and usefulness of that little series of tracts were prompt and great; and, to speak to the point, they could not have been more so if the author had been a man. We know that they set unreflecting minds at work, and had, at least for a time, a decided effect upon the daily habits of many. The object of the work then was obtained; this is success — all that man or woman asks; and the fact of the author's womanhood did not stand in the way of her success. Is not this undenied equality? What we contend for is simply, that the power of the female sex now rests on its right basis — the intellectual and moral efficiency of the individual, and where that efficiency is great, it has no difficulty in making itself felt in proportion. As to the manner in which it makes itself felt, of what consequence is that? Is there not danger that an undue solicitude about the mode of exercise, the outward show of power, may absorb the energies and waste the capacities, which could do so much for mankind, if brought to bear quietly and directly upon some good work? Are there not peculiarities and foibles enough belonging to woman's nature, to make her humble under the occasional sarcasms of man, at least till she can prove that they are unjust?

The work before us has the feminine stamp upon it. Few male writers, bringing as much mind and research to the task as our author, would have been satisfied to send it forth without more revision. But there are few women who might not have been glad to find themselves able to produce it. The class of readers throughout the country to whom such a work must be very acceptable is large. They have not time to wade through voluminous histories, nor patience to read dull books of any kind. Yet they have good sense and principle enough to pass their reading hours, not over mere works of amusement, but over such as will really convey some instruction; and to them *The Huguenots* comes recommended as an interesting and profitable book. We see constantly how true is the remark of the author, that "we do but little for History if we cannot invest her with life, clothe her in the habiliments of her day, and enable her to call forth the sympathies of succeeding generations." And the work skilfully serves her beautiful moral purpose in the selection of her subject. "It were well if our slumbering virtue could be roused by the self-sacrificing example of those who relinquished all for principle."

Self-sacrifice ! Oh, how many centuries have rolled away since our Master set us the glorious example of complete self-sacrifice for principle, truth, man's good, — and how do we still need the lesson ! How should we study it wherever it can be found, in literature and in life !

The annals of France have always seemed to us more confused and less interesting than those of England ; partly, it may be, because we have never read a truly complete, skilfully arranged, and well-written history of it. James, the novelist, has given us vivid, and, as we believe, correct glimpses of certain portions. *The Huguenots* necessarily embraces many facts connected with the general history of this nation during an interesting period, and the monarchs of France as they pass before us, fighting, intriguing, reveling, dying, leave as distinct impressions upon our minds when we close the book, as the purer and nobler beings whom they oppressed so long. The fickle, white-plumed warrior of Navarre, and the steadfast, white-haired Coligni stand side by side before us in glorious contrast ; the wily

and bloody Catharine of Medicis, with the noble and spotless Catharine of Bourbon.

This latter princess may be termed the heroine of the work, for it is evidently a labor of love with our author to delineate her rare and beautiful character. To us she has long seemed to float like some pure-robed seraph amid the demon shapes of violence, cunning, and profligacy, that in her time wrestled together for sway in the courts and palaces of France. She was true to the lessons of her admirable mother, and the influences of a childhood passed in domestic retirement. She had the only independence which is ever graceful in woman, that of obeying conscience against the world. Her sex may rejoice that the Disposer cast her lot in such an age and country that every secret virtue grew and stood radiant before men's eyes, because trial and temptation called them forth. Constant in her religious faith when even her beloved brother bowed his princely head in apostacy; constant in love through mighty difficulties, till a higher constancy bade her tear from her heart one whom no upright woman could esteem; constant, to the grave, in a purity of life and manners which was the wonder of those evil days, she was destined to fulfil the most illustrious destiny, in our eyes, to which woman is ever called. The Catholic honored her, the Protestant fondly revered her, the bold profligate shrunk humbly from her glance, the virtuous clung to her through all trial. She proved to a whole nation and age, what might have been doubted if she had fallen, that woman's nature can resist the sorest temptations, and exemplify the highest Christian graces.

We do not deem it necessary to give any sketch of the work before us. It either has been, or will be generally read. The very lads of our schools eagerly peruse the adventures of the heroic Amadée, the Huguenot galley-slave. We will close, however, with a few extracts. The first contains the reason why Catharine de Bourbon, with a struggle which cost her health and peace for a season, conquered her deep attachment to the Count de Soissons, and voluntarily relinquished the engagement which her royal brother and the crafty Sully had so long striven in vain to break.



"It must be acknowledged, that the charges Sully had brought against De Soissons, corroborated by proofs that he had it in his power to give, had sunk deep into Catharine's mind. Circumstances, one after another, crowded on her recollection. For things that had perplexed her in his conduct she now found a clue, and the illusive confidence that had sustained her for so many years was fast fleeting. This appears to have been the bitterest period of her life. She sent for De Soissons, and had long conversations with him. The conviction grew in her mind, notwithstanding all his palliations, that she had been deceived; that his renunciation of the Roman faith had been only a pretence, and that he had engaged, even in the early part of their attachment, to make his union with her subservient to the Catholics. He could not conceal, in this revelation of his character, his bitter enmity to her brother, nor suppress his too well-founded sneers at *his* conversion.

"Even Sully observes, that 'the Princess had but one fault, too great vivacity of temper; in all things else she was noble and generous.' The minister does not seem to have comprehended, that this vivacity of temper arose from a sense of justice and truth, and was founded in deep sensibility.

"The mist was dispelled, which had for so many years obscured her perception of De Soissons' true character. She saw he was a short-sighted politician, a man of the world, without high and honorable principle, changing with the times, and using religion as an engine for his ambition. It was not *deeds* of which she accused him, there had been nothing *treasonable* in his conduct; but the high and holy ties which bound her to him were broken, he was a different character from what she had believed. He was no longer the being that she had loved. 'I have told you often,' said Catharine, 'that you alone could sever the bonds between us; you have done it, and we must part. Difference of religious belief would not have separated us. I should have cherished the hope that we might, in time, have united in one faith. We must part! Find a wife among the daughters of your own people, and leave me to mine.'" — Vol. i. pp. 279 — 281.

The second volume contains an interesting sketch of Gabriel Bernon from the pen of a descendant; and our author seems to regard him with the partiality which his simple and noble excellence deserved. But we believe that, as a body, the French Protestants who took refuge in this country from persecution were men of worth and principle; and we feel that their descendants, so long as they forget not the responsibility it brings, have a right to look back

with an honest pride on such an ancestry. Well may Mrs. Lee exclaim : —

“ We cannot but feel deep sympathy with the Huguenots, driven from the home they had adopted, surrounded by the works of their own hands, the mute though eloquent witnesses of their industry, taste and perseverance, just as they were preparing to sit under the shadow of the trees they had planted. But the properties of their character they could carry with them. Wherever they go, we find them triumphing over the most unfavorable circumstances, and making ‘ the wilderness to blossom like the rose.’ Nor can we be surprised that men who could sacrifice all for the worship of God and a strict adherence to the truth, who would make no compromise with conscience for the quiet possession of their native homes, who could leave the sweet valleys and vine-covered hills of France for the howling wilderness, were sustained by principles so elevated ; they were led ‘ by a pillar of fire by night,’ and concealed from their enemies ‘ by the cloud by day.’ ” —Vol. ii. p. 65.

“ In viewing the refugees, we are apt to lose sight of the peculiar circumstances under which they fled to this country ; whole families together, women tenderly educated and unaccustomed to hardship, men of refined and cultivated minds. The very fact, that they came for the right of conscience, bespeaks their moral history. Some few were able to secure a portion of their wealth, others escaped with only their lives ; but they all brought with them imperishable virtue, and those accomplishments and mental acquisitions which they had gained in polished society. They could appreciate the wild and romantic character of our country, then literally a new world, and by the culture of the old soften its rugged features. Perhaps there never was a race that had more fully pledged themselves to high and generous deeds. Why should they now relinquish one honorable trait of character, when by a slight compromise of integrity, by a moderate degree of dissimulation, they might have remained in the sunny glades of their childhood, beneath their own roof-tree, and many of them in the splendid halls of their ancestors. Well might they expect to find legal protection in every Protestant country, and we rejoice that they found it here.” —Vol. ii. p. 91.

We conclude our extracts with a striking passage, exhibiting a peculiar and refined species of cruelty once common in the galleys of France. Are there still such practices ? We can easily conceive them more intolerable to many spirits by whom they have been endured, than the lash to the body. That phrase, “ condemned to the galleys

for life," always fell heavily on our hearts, but our knowledge of the details that must ensue was small, and our horror was but a vague sensation, bringing no such distinct pictures of hopeless, wearing toil and slavery, as the following paragraphs have conjured up.

"One of the hardest labors to Amadée, because the most tyrannical and degrading, was the exhibition to which they were constantly exposed by the officers, for the entertainment of their friends. The galley was cleared anew, and the slaves were ordered to shave, and put on their red habits and red caps, which are their uniform, when they wear any garments. This done, they are made to sit between the benches, so that nothing but heads with red caps are visible, from one end of the galley to the other. In this attitude the gentlemen and ladies who come as spectators, are saluted by the slaves, with a loud and mournful cry of *Hau*. This seems but one voice; it is repeated three times, when a person of high distinction enters. During this salute the drums beat, and the soldiers, in their best clothes, are ranged along the *bande* of the boat, with their guns shouldered. The masts are adorned with streamers; the chamber at the stern is also adorned with hangings of red velvet, fringed with gold. The ornaments in sculpture, at the stern, thus beautified to the water's edge; the oars lying on the seats, and appearing without the galley like wings, painted of different colors,—a galley thus adorned strikes the eye magnificently; but let the spectator reflect on the misery of three hundred slaves, scarred with stripes, emaciated and dead-eyed, chained day and night, and subject to the arbitrary will of creatures devoid of humanity, and he will no longer be enchanted by the gaudy outside. The spectators, a large proportion of whom are often ladies, pass from one end of the galley to the other, and return to the stern, where they seat themselves. The *comite* then blows his whistle. At the first blast every slave takes off his cap; at the second, his coat; at the third, his shirt, and they remain naked. Then comes what is called the monkey-exhibition. They are all ordered to lie along the seats, and the spectator loses sight of them; then they lift one finger, next their arms, then their head, then one leg, and so on, till they appear standing upright. Then they open their mouths, cough all together, embrace, and throw themselves into ridiculous attitudes, wearing, to the appearance of the spectator, an air of gayety, strangely contrasted with the sad, hollow eye of many of the performers, and the ferocious hardened despair of others. To the reflecting mind there can scarcely be any thing more degrading than this exhibition; men, subject constantly to the lash, doomed for life



to misery, perpetually called upon to amuse their fellow-beings by 'antic tricks.' " — Vol. ii. pp. 160–162.

The beautiful tribute to the memory of Dr. Channing with which the work concludes seems to us the best-written portion; and though to some it may not seem to present itself distinctly in connexion with the main subject, the author evidently felt that it had a connexion; and we think no one can wish it had been omitted.

L. J. H.

---

#### ART. VIII.—WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

WHAT is Christianity? To this question what various replies are made! Every sect has its own interpretation of the Gospel. Every intelligent believer has his own conception of what it is. They who regard it with equal reverence may differ widely when they come to explain it, for men's apprehensions vary where their appreciation is the same. Let us give our answer; not in the cold, rigid statements of a creed, but in the words which a rejoicing faith adopts, when it seeks utterance for the emotions as well as the convictions which it begets. Others speak confidently. Our belief is not less strong nor happy than theirs. Why then shall not we speak with confidence? We are condemned and misunderstood. Let us, if possible, place ourselves in our true position before and among our fellow Christians. The question which we have proposed concerns us as much as them. We have the same right with them — and it is equally our duty — to make answer before the world. What is Christianity?

We answer first, *it is a Divine communication*. And this we say in respect alike to its source and its character, in reference both to its early history and its inward operation. Christianity came from God, directly and miraculously. It was not of human, but of Divine origin. Christ was a Divine messenger, the chief of all the messengers who ever bore instruction from Heaven to earth. We believe in Christianity as a Divine production, just as we believe that the world in which we live, the material system of

things, is a Divine production. Man did not make it, and could not make it; it is not a human work. Man did not discover it; it is not the fruit of study, nor the result of insight. It is a revelation — an immediate and extraordinary communication from the Almighty. It is not necessary for us to define the precise method of this communication: we need not attempt to expound, or master the philosophy of inspiration. The terms which we have used are definite enough, and are intelligible by every one. Christianity, we believe, in the first instance came from God to Jesus and his Apostles as a direct illumination, and they delivered it as instruction which they had received immediately from the Divine Spirit. It contained more than could have been collected from the stores of human wisdom, or have been shaped into the form and bearing of a religion for the world by the most laborious skill or the most clear-sighted philanthropy. Upon the first disciples it acted with the force of a Divine influence, and they recognised in its influence the action of truth flowing from God through channels which he had supernaturally opened. And in our times, and in all times since the Gospel was preached by him whom “God anointed with the holy spirit and with power,” the action of Christianity, whether upon the individual or on society, has been a Divine action, inasmuch as it has been the action not of what man has discovered, but of what God has promulgated.

We therefore bow to the authority of the Gospel. We allow of no appeal from its declarations of doctrine or duty. When we have ascertained what Christianity teaches, we stand in reverence before the mind and will of God. Our appeal is from all other instruction to this. In the examination of the writings through which we obtain an acquaintance with Christianity, we use all the fidelity which we should exercise in the study of any other documents purporting to contain important matter; and having satisfied ourselves that these are what they purport to be, we interpret them by the same laws which we apply to other writings; and we know not how else to arrive at their meaning. But having by such investigation informed ourselves of the truth as it is in Jesus, we accept that truth, and abide in it, and rejoice in it and glory in it. It is to us “the wisdom of God and the power of God.” We do not sacrifice our

reason on the altar of faith, for we have never found in Christianity any thing repugnant to reason, nor should we expect that a communication from God to man would confound and throw discredit on the highest faculty which he has given to man. But we are willing that reason should be taught, and we place it at the feet of Jesus, to listen — not at his side, to dispute.

Christianity is to us a Divine communication. We receive it, we honor it as such. It is authoritative, it is final with us. We reject much of the belief of other Christians, not because we do not like it, but because we do not find it in the Gospel. We value the good thoughts and wise sayings of past ages. We are thankful for the assistance which those who are toiling along with us in the highway of life can give in surmounting its discouragements or in discerning the forms of things around us. And we trust that future generations will be wiser and better, more far-sighted and more simple-hearted than we. But amidst the past we see one light brighter than all the rest, we hear one voice clearer than all others; and that light we know was kindled by God's own hand, and to that voice we hearken as to the voice of God himself. The help which we get from our fellow-travellers we feel is an insecure and treacherous reliance, when it is not offered in the meekness of a heart which recognises Christ as the infallible guide. And as we anticipate the brighter days of the future, we neither expect nor desire for our race a period when Christianity shall cease to be the sun of the moral heavens. We admire those in our day who consecrate themselves to reform, and we hold in honor the memory of some who in ancient times rose above the absurdities of Heathenism. But we can never place Bentham by the side of Paul, nor name Socrates in the same breath with Jesus. We believe in miracle, in inspiration, in Christianity as a Divine communication.

What is Christianity? We answer, secondly, *it is a message of mercy*. Man lay in the bondage and gloom of sin when Christ appeared as a messenger from God. He had separated himself from his Maker. The consciousness of sin disquieted him. He felt himself to be guilty, and in various ways sought to avert the displeasure which he knew must settle upon him from offended Heaven. Whether



Jew or Heathen, he recognised a Power above himself, whose authority he had contemned or defied. He felt his need of forgiveness. He saw the necessity of terminating the variance between himself and the unseen Object of his worship. It is one of the most remarkable facts in human history, that man has always been troubled at the thought of his own sinfulness. Conscience has pointed him to One higher than himself, and as he has looked up, he has trembled, for he has felt his unworthiness and ill desert. Hence the holocausts he has heaped on sacrificial altars. Hence the human victims he has immolated. Hence the penances he has inflicted alike on the body and the spirit, and the self-destruction by which he has hoped to atone for his offences. All these things proclaim the universal feeling, where Christianity has not lifted the burthen of guilt from the soul. And where Christianity is known, it has only increased the sense of guilt by giving new force to the great truths of duty and accountableness. Man is now a sinner, everywhere a sinner. Go where we may, we find sin assailing and cleaving to humanity. In the palace and in the hovel, with the student among his books, and with the peasant in the field, is sin to be found, in actual contact with the life of man. Innocence is seen only in childhood, perfection belongs not to earth. That which is universally true is universally confessed, at least in the soul's privacy. There is a universal acknowledgment of the need of pardon. The sinner must be re-instated in the Divine favor, and be delivered from the peril into which his sins have brought him.

Such is the condition and such the consciousness of all mankind. Christianity meets the case which is here represented. It is a message of mercy from the Being in whose presence sin is disloyalty and impiety. God will forgive the sinner who repents and "brings forth fruits meet for repentance." No one need despair, not even the chief of sinners. God will freely forgive those who turn unto him, to do his will. He is reconciled to those who reconcile themselves to him. This is the burthen of the Gospel; and this, perhaps more than any thing else which belongs to it, makes it the Gospel—the glad tidings. God's mercy is sufficient for the wants of the world. This was the truth which Jesus taught. Yea, more; it was the truth which he

died to place beyond all denial. Calvary attests the mercy of God. The cross has established it forever.

Yet welcome as the revelation of mercy must be to the conscience-stricken sinner, many have been withheld by their fears from embracing it. The Christian doctrine of mercy has been disfigured and encumbered by human theories, till its divine features could scarcely be discerned beneath such perversions. We believe in this mercy, as it stands in the Gospel, — free, full, and imposing only the condition of a return to duty through a living faith. The man who believes in Christ so heartily as to forsake all, that he may follow Christ, will obtain pardon for his past offences, and need no longer anticipate the Divine displeasure. His sins are forgiven, for in him the atonement has taken effect — the reconciliation, that is, which restores him from a disobedient to an obedient child, from a rebellious to a loyal subject.

In the views which we entertain of the Divine mercy we differ considerably from large numbers of our fellow Christians, who think we do not give a sufficiently prominent place to this mercy. It seems to us strange, that we should be so misunderstood. We flee to the mercy of God as our only refuge; we cling to it, as did the ancient Israelite to the horns of the altar, as where neither vengeance nor despair can follow us. We would not give up our confidence in the mercy of God for all that heaven and earth could offer; for without it heaven would be no heaven, and earth would be a hell. And we cherish this confidence, because Christ has given us encouragement and instruction to this effect, and has even died that it might be sealed in his blood. *Therefore* do we believe in a mercy large enough even to cover our guilt. When men ask us, what reliance or hope we provide for the sinner whom we call to repentance, we reply, — ‘That which Christ provided — the mercy of God.’ Yes; we believe in mercy, announced, pledged, applied in Christ.

What is Christianity? We answer thirdly, *it is an instrument of regeneration*. We have seen in what a state Christianity found the world; a state of guilt, disobedience and estrangement from God. Man was enslaved and polluted, for passion had corrupted him, and temptation had led him captive. Mankind were sunk in depravity. God had

“made man upright, but they had sought out many inventions ;” by which the soul was deluded, debased, and enfeebled. Christianity came to raise man out of this state. It came to deliver him from his sins, through repentance and a change in heart and life. It came to reform the character, and so to renew the man, — to change, not his nature, but its exercises, — to establish a new dominion within him, and to open a new world to his view in what he saw around him. Therefore was the instruction of Christ directed first and chiefly to this point. He sought the sinner, that he might rescue him from his degradation ; and he addressed him as a sinner, that he might at once remind him of what he must do. The regeneration of the human heart, by which its dispositions, desires and purposes should be deprived of the evil quality which affected them, and be filled with that holy element which should convert them into acceptable offerings on the altar of religion, this was the object for which the Gospel was bestowed in view of the immediate wants of man, and this the result which it was intended in its primary action to accomplish. This result was witnessed. There is not a more remarkable chapter in the history of our race, than that which records the change which Christianity wrought in the early believers, — turning selfishness into love, and avarice into generosity, and sensuality into self-denial ; making the effeminate manly, the ambitious humble, the revengeful meek, the formalist a spiritual worshipper, the irreligious devout and exemplary ; converting a persecutor into an Apostle, a hypocritical disciple of Moses into a sincere follower of Jesus, an idolatrous and profligate Pagan into a real Christian ! What more could we say than is conveyed by this last expression to him who understands, on the one hand the requisitions of Christianity, and on the other the habits of Pagan life ? What a contrast do they present ! Yet how often was it realized in the experience of the same individual.

Such was the operation of Christianity in its commencement. But its work is still regeneration. Men are still corrupt. The world is full of wickedness. Men are depraved ; depraved by their own will and act, but only the more depraved because their will consents and their own act aims the blow at the soul's integrity. They need



to be converted, to be changed, now, as much as in the days of Christ and his Apostles. They need to have their attention arrested, their thoughts turned in upon themselves, their souls cleansed, their lives reformed. The visible change will in most instances, perhaps, be less strongly marked, but the effect which may be traced to the Gospel will be scarcely less stupendous, and in no degree less important, than was produced in Jerusalem or Corinth.

We believe therefore in regeneration — as a work which it is the office of Christianity to effect by bringing the soul to a voluntary relinquishment of all its evil habits and the adoption of new principles and exercises. We believe in depravity — as the condition into which all mankind are brought by the force of temptation acting upon ignorance and weakness; in human, but not in natural depravity; in universal, but not in total depravity; in acquired, but not in hereditary depravity. We believe that the first step in obedience is repentance. We believe in Christianity as the great instrument of regeneration.

What is Christianity? We answer, fourthly, *it is a means of spiritual education*. Man was created for a high excellence. Every thing within and around him proclaims this. His endowments point out progress as the law of his being. His circumstances lay upon him a discipline which finds its only explanation in its fitness to exercise and train his nobler faculties. Human nature is a contradiction to itself, and human life a problem beyond our solution, if we were not made to achieve a high destiny. Man was created for perfection, as was every thing else. But everything below him reaches its perfection by an involuntary growth; and that which is above him, he has reason to believe, is subject to the same law, of an intelligent and self-induced progress, with himself. He must secure his own perfection by toil and warfare, by patience and long perseverance, by a voluntary adoption and an earnest pursuit of the loftiest aims which can invite human endeavor. These aims are spiritual. It is spiritual training therefore which he needs. He needs to be addressed, instructed, and helped as one in whom spiritual powers of immeasurable compass are concealed. There are no limits which language can describe, or imagination define, to the growth of the soul. It was meant by the Creator to put forth new energy and

to reap new satisfaction through its whole course. Every year must find it wiser, stronger, richer than the previous year. In manhood it must be more vigorous than in youth, and in old age have a goodness that time shall have ripened to a still fuller expansion. Advancement, ascent, should be its constant purpose ; acquisition, conquest, must be the title of its whole experience. 'Never to rest, but ever to rise,' expresses the condition on which the Infinite Father has offered it a participation in his own intelligence and happiness.

But in this perpetual progress man needs counsel and help. For it is a conflict, we have said, which he must maintain. Freedom, purity, perfection he can gain only by hard struggle. He must work out his own salvation from much of error and infirmity, even after the dominion of evil has been cast off. He needs therefore guidance, encouragement and support. All these, and all else which he needs in his pursuit of the end for which he was created — advice, example, command, persuasion, in a word, all the instruction and assistance which it is possible for him to receive — Christianity either affords or promises. We shall never understand, nor duly appreciate Christianity till we contemplate it from this point of view. It is the instructor as well as the purifier of the soul, the educator as truly as the redeemer of the race. Man is redeemed from sin, only that he may be educated for the largest and purest excellence. He is called to repentance, that he may be afterwards called to "glory and virtue."

We believe in the possibility of a continual progress towards perfection, because we believe that it is made our duty, and because we see in Christianity the means for enabling us to accomplish what is required by the Divine law. As in the death of Christ we see a pledge of mercy, so in his life we read the assurance of success. "Because I live, ye shall live also," are words, which, as we interpret the term "life," are full of meaning. With us there is no life where there is not growth, a growth which manifests itself in effort and crowns itself with victory. As we believe that man is never so fallen that he need sink into hopeless ruin, so do we believe that he can never attain such an eminence of character that he may not rise higher. And as we believe that no one is so degraded that the

motions of a spiritual life may not be quickened in him, we also believe that no one has acquired such superiority to temptation that he needs not to maintain a watchful humility.

We believe moreover in Christianity as the spring of all social improvement. We have no confidence in any scheme for the advancement of society which is not built upon faith in the Gospel. We do not want intelligence without faith. It is like giving the steam-engine power without direction. Disaster and ruin must be the result. An educated people without the restraining influences of Christianity would only be a nation of accomplished scoundrels. Neither do we believe in the efficacy of circumstances without the operation of Christian truth in the soul. In other words, we do not believe in any permanent or real amendment in society, except through the rectification of individual character. Christianity reaches social abuses through personal regeneration, and secures the highest order of the social state by evolving the spiritual life in the different parts. Christianity must have universal prevalence and universal control; this is our belief. It must sanctify the meanest employment and determine the worth of the highest station. Judges must clothe themselves with its purity, and rulers with its authority. The citizen must be a Christian in his political relations, and government be Christian in all its action. Like the invisible providence of God which holds together the material world, this Divine religion must hold together the moral world; and as that numbers "the very hairs of our heads," so this must govern our least important or least deliberate purpose. 'Philosophy the guide of life,' said the ancients; 'Christianity the guide of life,' say we. The guide of life in all conditions and all places—public and private—from the first prayer of childhood to the failing accents of the death-bed. We believe in the constant influence of Christianity as the means of spiritual education for man.

What is Christianity? We answer, fifthly, *it is a revelation of another world.* We say, of another world, rather than of another life, because Christianity does not merely teach that we shall live again. It announces more than the fact of immortality; it proclaims retribution, and communicates some information respecting its laws and circum-



stances. To have disclosed a future state of being alone, would have but partially relieved the want of man. This indeed was an immense addition to the amount of human knowledge. As *we* read the books of Providence and Scripture, it appears to us that we are indebted to the Gospel for a clear and authoritative revelation of an existence beyond the grave; for Providence seems to us to afford no decisive testimony on this subject, and although the later Hebrew Scriptures may contain allusions to the doctrine, they do not present it as a part of Divine revelation. Men believed in immortality before Christ came; but they believed on insufficient grounds — on grounds which would not bear the test of philosophical scrutiny. We believe in the immortality of man because he whom the Father sent, the true and faithful witness, has spoken concerning it in unequivocal terms. Therefore do we recognise in Christianity the author of a hope which overcomes the fear of death and penetrates the gloom of the grave. Therefore do we account Christianity the great Comforter of man in his sorrow, who soothes his bereavement with visions of heavenly life, and teaches him to say of the departed, that they are gone, not that they are lost.

But the instruction of the Gospel does not cease at this point. If it did, although it might solace the bereaved, it would not hold out sufficient motive to man in his conflict with evil. He must know, not only that he shall live again, but that he shall there receive the recompense of his "patient continuance in well doing" here. He must know too that negligence and transgression here will be followed by a righteous retribution hereafter. The Divine law of duty — constant and progressive duty — must have its sanctions, and since they are not drawn in sufficient force from human experience in this world, they must be drawn from the certainty of future judgment. Christianity brings them thence, and applies them to the soul's sensibility, awakening its fear, while it stimulates its hope, and by the terrors as well as the mercies of the Lord persuading it to render a steadfast obedience.

We believe in a retribution after death—a retribution just, strict, and sure to fall upon every soul that will not fear God and do his will. We do not believe that a finite sin can deserve, or under the government of a holy God can

receive infinite punishment ; but we do believe that he who dies in his sins must endure suffering in another world, of which the gnawing worm and the unquenchable fire are but faint emblems ; and we believe also that so long as a soul continues impenitent, it will continue to suffer. We think moreover that through Christianity we learn what are the essential principles on which this retribution will be administered ; the first among them in clearness and solemnity being these, — that to whom much has been committed, of him will much be required ; and that condemnation will be apportioned to character, the most guilty being visited with the heaviest woe. In regard likewise to them who shall be counted worthy to inherit the blessedness of the Father's presence, we learn that they shall be rewarded according to the fidelity which they shall have manifested on earth ; that there will be difference of condition, and not a broad uniformity, in heaven. We gather too from the express disclosures of the Gospel, as well as by inference from the truths which we have noticed, that the future will be a social state. And we conclude from the manner in which it is described, that it must be a state of progress, and not of stationary, unchangeable excellence — of happiness, or of misery, incapable of increase.

These are our persuasions concerning another world, drawn from the Christian Scriptures. They are clear, precise, solemn and authoritative. We dare not believe less than we have now repeated, because we presume not to set aside the teaching of Christ. We dare not believe more, because we do not find that he has taught more. We believe in future retribution with just as strong a faith as in human immortality. If we doubted the one, we should doubt the other. We believe in another world, as it has been opened to our view through the Gospel. And we rejoice with trembling, as we stand before the spectacle which is there presented, and behold mercy and judgment seated together upon the eternal throne.

What is Christianity? We answer now, on a review of what we have said, that it is a Divine communication, that it is a message of mercy, that it is an instrument of regeneration, that it is a means of spiritual education, and that it is a revelation of another world. We might add yet other replies, but these are sufficient. If they do not

embrace all that a grateful faith might suggest in answer to the inquiry, they exhibit the principal elements of "the glorious Gospel of Christ." If we must have a Confession of Faith, these shall be its five points. Inspiration, mercy, regeneration, progress, retribution, — these words shall designate our articles of belief. Inspiration, which speaks of God, the Source of truth; mercy, which proclaims man a sinner, and meets his wants as such; regeneration, which denotes the change in his character which is indispensable to a Christian life or hope; progress, by which the soul presses on towards perfection; and retribution, which discloses the secrets of immortality and judgment. All this knowledge, influence and benefit have come through Christ, the one Mediator between God and man. On his name we lean as on an immovable rock; and in him, "though now we see him not, yet believing, we rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."

The replies which we have now given to the question before us have not only a positive value; they furnish also an exposure of the misstatements to which many in the community lend a ready ear. We will extend this article only so far as to notice two or three such examples.

We are charged with undervaluing revelation, and of placing it on the same ground of authority with reason. We have, on the contrary, made the broadest distinction between them, and asserted the superiority of revelation as the only authoritative guide of faith or practice. There is no sect in the Christian Church which bows with a more willing deference to the mandates of revelation when they have been once ascertained. We are anxious, indeed, not to substitute superstition for intelligent faith, and we cannot surrender our right of judging what is the word of God to every enthusiast or fanatic who may come to us in his own name or in the name of any Assembly, ancient or modern, and claim submission to his edicts. That which we hold to be revelation, we regard as of supreme authority. Reason may interpret and apply, but it may not set aside the Divine will. It must be a pupil and a servant in the household of faith.

We are charged, again, with depreciating the Scriptures, and with perverting or adulterating them to suit our purposes. To suit our purposes! Yes, that is the language



which is used ; as if we had some wicked scheme at heart, which we were bent upon carrying through at any cost of conscience or honor. But, we ask, who pay more true respect to the Scriptures than we ? For to them we go that we may learn what is "the Gospel of the blessed God ;" and as we refuse to receive any other representation of this Gospel than what we find there, it is plain that in proportion to the value we set upon the Gospel must be the regard we bestow upon the Scriptures. We claim indeed the right of examining and interpreting the Bible for ourselves — a right which we accord to others of every name, and we resist by fair argument as well as by passive unbelief the attempt to impose upon us as a part of Scripture that which was never written by the sacred authors. We distinguish too in regard to the relative importance of different parts of the Bible. We value the Old Testament as the record of a previous dispensation of Divine commandment, and as it contains the history of a special part of the Divine Providence ; but we do not go to the Old Testament for the Gospel of Christ. We read with a reverence altogether peculiar whatever was written by the Apostles of Jesus, but we hold in still higher estimation what was said by our Lord himself. The Bible is to us a *sacred* book. We have seen so much mischief resulting from a vague use of language on this subject, that we may have been too careful to define our views of the precise character of the Scriptural documents. But we have wished that all emotion should have a basis of truth ; and knowing how dear the Scriptures were to us, we may not have felt so much as we might the importance of treating them in a manner which others could not misconstrue. Once then for all let us say, that we value the Bible above all price, that we honor it as preserving an authentic record of Divine communications, and especially of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ, the greatest of all God's messengers, and that we would rather see every other book destroyed, and science, literature and art reduced to their primitive condition, than the Bible taken from our daily use, or the use of those who, with us, must go to its pages for "the words of eternal life."

It is said of us, that we do not honor Christ. And the whole ground of this imputation is, that we do not believe

him to be God. For we receive his instructions as Divine, his commandments as authoritative. We listen to his words and we study his life, that we may be made wise in the things which pertain to the kingdom of Heaven. We regard his character as our model, and his cross as the anchor of our hope. We believe in him as Saviour, Lord, and Mediator. All this is included in what we have already said. How unjust then the charge, that we do not honor Christ! If faith, gratitude, love, reverence and obedience enter into the honor which should be paid him, then do we honor him, as we honor no other except God, whom he declared to be greater than himself. In the Scriptural sense, we honor him "as we honor the Father," that is, with as true a reverence and as religious a sentiment; for in him we see the representative of the Father's glory. But we cannot place him on an equality with the Father, for then we should confound the plainest distinctions and impeach the truth which he delivered. God, first and alone in our regard; but next Christ, also alone in those relations to us which he shares with no one else.

It is said, that we do not speak with sufficient force of the evil of sin. Yet we declare that the immediate object of the Gospel was to break down the dominion of sin. We regard the mission of Christ as the most decisive rebuke of sin that could be given, and his life as a testimony against it only less emphatic than his death. We consider reconciliation to God, through the renunciation of evil courses and the culture of inward purity, to be the great achievement of Christianity in the case of every one who comes under its power. We believe that it was sin which made the Gospel necessary, that the mercy which it brought was what man most wanted, and the regeneration which it effected was what he himself felt the need of, even if he made no attempt to secure a better experience. We are accused of not believing in regeneration. And yet in our view this was one of the chief purposes of the ministry to which Christ was appointed. What could we say, what could we believe, that would indicate a more positive sense of the evil of sin?

It is reported concerning us, that we do not preach retribution. We have said in this article only what we have

always maintained, that after death cometh the judgment. Perhaps we have not pressed this theme upon the conscience as cogently and frequently as we ought. Its solemnity has caused us to approach it with an awe that may have checked our speech. But who that ever attended on the services of our churches can have failed to perceive, that our faith embraces the revelation of a future judgment? If we have been less forward than others to try here our powers of description, we have felt that here least of all was description in place. It is not description, but affirmation that is needed; the conscience and the imagination of the hearer when awakened outrun the words of the preacher. Judgment and retribution belong to a spiritual rather than a material experience; and spiritual things must be spiritually discerned. It has been our aim therefore to quicken the conscience, rather than to inform the intellect; to establish the certainty, rather than to portray the methods of retribution.

But we have spent time enough upon the erroneous conceptions of our belief which prevail around us. We should be glad, if we could bring others to lay aside their prejudices and see us in our true relation to the Gospel — as its advocates and disciples. We should be still more glad, if we could induce them to interpret the Gospel as we interpret it, that it might stand forth to their view in the same simple and majestic proportions in which it appears to us. But what we most desire is, that it may produce in us the fruits of a true discipleship. Sooner or later the Gospel of Christ must vindicate its own purity from the misconceptions with which it has been loaded. We may hasten that time, and be permitted to see its dawn. Or causes which we cannot control may baffle our efforts and disappoint our hopes. But of one thing we will never suffer ourselves to be deprived — our confidence in the Gospel as Divine and sufficient! Divine, in its origin, and its character; sufficient, for all the purposes which it came to accomplish, and all the uses for which it was designed. One disappointment may we never incur — the disappointment, oh how bitter and how deplorable! — of finding, as the consequence of “holding the truth in unrighteousness,” that the Gospel has become to us not “a savor of life unto life,” but “of death unto death.” It is “the glorious Gospel;” glo-



rious in respect to its Author, its messenger, and its contents; and glorious in its effects upon those who receive and obey the truth. But the folly of man may turn even the grace of God into a means of harm, and the very Gospel of salvation into an occasion of ruin. Christianity compels no love, extorts no service. It renews and sanctifies no one against his will. Faith must receive, and obedience must use the Gospel, or its possession will but enhance our guilt and may seal our condemnation.

Christianity is God's "unspeakable gift." But it is a gift to be used; to be *used*; not to be laid aside, as the Bible which contains the history of this wonderful display of God's interest in man is often laid where its gilded leaves and rich covers may be seen, but where it remains for days and weeks unopened; not to be made the subject of an empty admiration or a superficial reverence; but to be *used* for the purposes for which it was given. These were the redemption of the sinner and the improvement of the believer. It was given for spiritual uses, and for spiritual ends should it be used. He whom the Gospel does not bring out of darkness into light, whom it does not set free from the bondage of sin, whom it does not lead on towards the perfection which is seen in Christ Jesus the great Pattern of excellence, has no faith in Christianity according to the Scriptural import of the term. We insist upon character as the necessary result and only test of genuine faith. We care not for what a man says, if he *do* not as he ought; nay, we care little for what he does, if he *be* not right. The profession must be tried by the life; and even behind the life lies the character, which alone can prove in what regard we hold the Gospel. Obedience must be sincere and thorough. If we would show our gratitude, we must evince it by the diligence we use in bringing the commandments of our Master to bear upon our conduct, and in establishing the principles which he exhibited in his character in their authority over ours. Christianity is a religion for use, and not for idle praise; a religion for the heart as well as the intellect.

We insist upon character—upon a right state of the whole man. This is the one thing needful; this, and nothing besides, neither more nor less. For this was the Gospel given, for this did Jesus our Master bear humiliation and death,—that we might put on the righteousness

which is through faith. On faith too do we insist ; but on faith as the means, character as the end. Character ! the very word points out the depth and magnitude of the requisition which in our view Christianity makes upon us. It is not a superficial nor a partial effect, which is seen in him who is worthy to be called after its name. The complete sanctification of the individual, the establishment of the Divine will over his whole being, in all its motives, exercises and manifestations, is the work which Christianity contemplates, and which Christianity alone can effect.

E. S. G.

---

ART. IX.—FREDERIKA BREMER'S THEOLOGY.\*

IN reading Miss Bremer's novels every one, of course, has been impressed with the religious tone that pervades them all. Here and there in her pages hints are thrown out and speculations introduced, that have often led us to ask, what is the author's theology, and that have always puzzled us to give a reply. With considerable curiosity therefore we opened the little book that professes to state her creed, and stood ready to welcome the results of her "Morning Watches." We have closed the book and find ourselves as much in the dark as ever regarding her place among the sects, although delighted to know that she is entirely with us in her views of the aim and spirit of Christianity.

Religion is woman's peculiar province, whilst theology belongs rather to man ; and Miss Bremer's attempt to be a theologian does not set aside this distinction. Charming and inspiring as is the tone of her "Confession of Faith," we are to thank her for a precious statement of religious experience rather than for oracles of theological wisdom. For this very fact, we love the book far better than if it outdid Calvin in dogmatic clearness or Swedenborg in philosophical analogy.

---

\* *Morning Watches : A Few Words on 'Strauss and the Gospels : ' The Confession of Faith of Frederika Bremer.* Translated from the Swedish, by a Swede. Boston : Redding & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 24.

It expresses the earnest yet mild indignation that a truly Christian woman must feel, when first acquainted with the assaults of modern infidelity upon the Divine mission of Christ. It was called out by an Essay entitled "Strauss and the Gospels," in which a statement is made of the principles put forth by the chief of German Rationalists in his *Life of Christ*. Many a woman in New England, when hearing or reading doctrines like those advanced by Strauss, has been moved by a spirit congenial with that which the novelist of Sweden has so eloquently uttered. Perhaps the honest experience of a spiritual soul is a better refutation of infidel doctrines, than any logical argument or learned apology for the truth. Sweden may thus afford us the best illustration of true defence of the faith. The sword of Gustavus withstood the Papal armies and saved Germany from returning to the Papal yoke. Now the faith of Germany is not threatened by military churchmen, but by lax rationalists, and the pen which withstands them is not unworthy of a name with the sword of the great Protestant hero.

Miss Bremer treats Strauss with great liberality, and owns with him that the Bible bears marks of the times, places, men and manners of the ages of its composition, and sometimes presents us with heavenly truth in an earthly dress. She even professes her joy in the appearance of books like that of Strauss, as leading to a better understanding of the Scriptures, to a new way between the two opposite but one-sided enemies of the Bible and revelation, that shall show the power of truth to confirm itself and call up from every 'No' a more powerful 'Yes.'

She acknowledges the difficulties that she has felt in the study of the Scriptures, and her joy—who of us that believe will not share it?—her joy when she discovered the central doctrine of reconciliation which explains and inspires the whole, like the lamp that reveals the carvings of an alabaster vase, that else are hidden, or like the Shechinah that lighted the inmost recess of the great temple. Thus she speaks:—

"Book of books! deep, wonderful mine, whose shafts ages have assaulted, ages have traversed, and will yet traverse! Holy lineage-roll, displaying the record of the internal unfolding of the race of man from the hour of its birth; gigantic drama of life's



beginning and end! Drama, with dark episodes and bloody scenes, but whose morning and evening are in light; which commences with man's infancy, and ends where he begins a new life after death beyond the grave! History of histories! how often have I not descended into its depths with an ardent and inquiring heart. Long, long was it to me dark, mysterious, and incomprehensible, and I could not separate the precious metals from the dross and earth, which adhered to it; the *great pulse* of reconciliation, steadily beating beneath the varying weal and woe of earthly life, amid the solemn blessings and curses of the wailing mind, was concealed from me; long have I strayed and doubted, often despairing of the way and the truth. Yet the eye became by degrees used to see by twilight; and even for the least of his inquiring children does God let his light shine! Now I walk securely on the wonderful course, and to my last hour will I journey on, searching and praying."

Miss Bremer follows Strauss in his attack upon the Gospels, and meets him upon his two principal points, and vindicates Christianity as attended by miracles and given by Divine inspiration. With considerable power she shows the inefficiency of the view that looks upon Christ merely as a high ideal, and she maintains that the force of the Gospel lies not merely in its ideal of character, but in the motives it presents. Not merely aim, but power is needed, and this power is given by a supernatural revelation of God and heaven. We need not say much of this point. For the whole ground is very familiar to our readers, and has perhaps been more ably maintained by our divines than by any other persons.

In fact there is hardly a statement in the whole "Confession of Faith" which will be offensive to our circle of readers, unless it be in her view of the nature of Christ. Yet so far as she explains her doctrine of the Divinity of the Saviour, she is decidedly Unitarian. She says not a word of three persons in the Deity, and generally speaks of God *in* Christ, and thus uses language which all of us may accept, who believe in the presence of God in Christ, the supernatural union of the Father with the Son. Her enthusiastic declaration, that if Christ be not God, he is a nobler being than God, — because he suffers and dies for man, whilst God is thus made as an Oriental despot on an invisible throne, regardless of man's sins and salvation, — applies to those only who deny that God entered into the

mission of Christ and through him manifested his love and dispensed his spirit. It does not reach those who acknowledge the doctrine, that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."

In spirit and aim, Miss Bremer sides most strongly with us against the leading doctrines of modern Orthodoxy. Her view of the doctrine of the Atonement is virtually ours, and entirely opposed to the idea of literal imputation or vicarious righteousness. The righteousness of Christ is *imparted*, not *imputed* to the believer. The great power of his mission consists in his revealing God's love to us and bringing us within the sphere of its influence. How often have our writers been condemned as infidels for asserting the very doctrine thus stated in an Orthodox garb:—

"The atonement of Christ and its justification are so closely connected herewith, that I cannot pass by a nearer consideration of them. The atonement has so often given offence to people of reflection, and to those who do not think, and I myself have had so much opposition to it, that I cannot resist the desire to tell how this difficulty can be stopped, and how the doctrine has been clear and precious to me. Strauss has, as have many others, taken it in its most difficult and inaccessible form, and thereby thrust it from the way of comprehension. We would ascertain whether, by means of a sensible explanation, both cannot and must not be included therein. And if the parable we here profit by, is somewhat imperfect and broken, we may overlook it, as well for the sake of the difficulty of the subject as for the easy comprehension of the parable. It is usually said, if A do the work of B, and fulfil his duty in his place, these cannot be B's services, and B cannot thereby be regarded morally free from debt. It depends upon how the case is comprehended. For if B, through A's efforts, really becomes free from debt, then must he also be respected therefor, and the services of A be charged to him. View the case so here. B has fallen into disorder, and at last left his father's house. Far separated therefrom, he has sunk into slavery under a bad master, (we could as well call him Satan, or 'the father of lies,') and thereby come into manifold misery. The father, A, has, however, not altered himself on account of the son's change. The father's heart is the same, but the son's heart and will must be altered, if father and son shall again be reconciled and united, and the son return to his father's house. Therefore goes the father out to seek the son, and that he may come near to him, he takes upon him the form of a servant. A becomes a servant to B. He partakes of his poor means, helps him in his

work, guards him in his misery, and suffers in his stead the cruelty of the evil master; and under all this, he constantly strengthens and cheers the son by his love, his example, his instructions, his power, and his goodness. The son B is moved by these things. The love of A awakens his. Love makes his will good, and he does what A desires. The power of A strengthens B, and he expresses himself gradually in his degraded circumstances as a new man. The old B is as if dead. Another A has risen in him. Common with A, or, more properly, through A, B works now so powerfully that he gains his freedom from the service of the cruel master. He freely departs therefrom, follows A to his father's house, and the affectionate father can again receive there his regained son, and bring him into the circle of his chosen. The justness of A has thus justified B; that is, made him just. The actions of A are satisfactory to B. The merit of A has, in fact, become B's. The father has, by his efforts and suffering, again redeemed the son, and make him free; so love fulfils the obligation, which, without it, could not be fulfilled. The example we have here used, is nothing uncommon in private life. But all private works of love show, in general, the everlasting, the fountain of all the inspiration of love on earth, and which was revealed to the world, when 'the word was made flesh and lived among us; and we beheld his glory as of the only begotten Son, full of grace and truth, and of his fulness have we all received,' when 'God in Christ atoned for the world by himself.'"

All this we are willing and happy to allow, with the exception of the idea which supposes God to have suffered for man. She says not a word of the sufferings of the second person in a Trinity, but ascribes, like Sabellius, the whole work of salvation to the Eternal Father, whom she represents as bearing the pains of his earthly children in order by such suffering love to win them away from sin. That the ever blessed God can suffer pain we cannot allow, nor are Orthodox theologians more willing to allow it than we; since they maintain that it was only the human nature of Christ that suffered. The presence of God in Christ, strengthening and soothing him, giving him power to die and live again, relieves the difficulty and leads us at once to a suffering Messiah and a parental God.

This passage of Miss Bremer regarding the Atonement will probably be looked upon by Swedenborgians as declaring their doctrine on this subject. Yet it is in substance the same which is found in the works of most



German theologians who believe in a supernatural revelation and a spiritual religion. German Orthodoxy has very little respect for the Calvinistic dogmas of vicarious atonement and imputed righteousness. Only a few ultraists maintain it. Not a word of it can be found in the pages of the most distinguished divines of Germany. Miss Bremer may be a Swedenborgian, although she gives no sufficient proof of it in this "Confession." She cannot of course be ignorant of the writings of her illustrious countryman, who is at the head of what is sometimes called the "heaven-storming school" of theologians. Yet judging from scattered passages in her works, we should suppose, that she is a member of the Established Church of Sweden, and feels herself entirely free to modify its Lutheran Episcopacy with a leaven of Swedenborgian divinity. The "New Church" doctrines prevail to a considerable extent in her country, and Charles XIII. once favored them, although at present we are told they are not openly professed, and are strongly disapproved by the established authorities. Without scrutinizing too closely her denominational leanings, we must all admire the practical spiritualism that runs through her writings, and own that her religion is right, whatever we may think of her theology.

We leave this little work, refreshed by its perusal, and only regretting that the translator is so little master of our language, and that the version is in some passages so opaque as to create twilight, if not darkness.

S. O.

---

#### ART. X.—THE THREE BAPTISMS.

THE habit of mind of the sacred writers being not so much *thought* as *vision* and *experience*, and their own character, as writers, being not so much that of philosophers as of seers, prophets, sages, it was to have been looked for that their style should abound in lively imagery. They present to us—not thoughts, disposed in philosophical order, bound together by the chains of a strict logic,

growing out of and suggested by, or accumulated upon, each the other, forming a regular series of steps, by which the mind of the reader may be led up gradually to the summit of conviction or of sentiment to which the writer had raised himself, — but, rather, detached pictures of life and duty and destiny. Nothing is discoursed of in the abstract, but every thing is conceived and prescribed under sensible images, through symbols, pictures, figures.

An example of the highly figurative and picturesque style of the Scriptures occurs in the words used by John the Baptist: "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." To understand this language, the English reader will bear in mind that *Ghost* is the same, in meaning, as *Spirit*; it is, in fact, the old English word for spirit. Thus Chaucer, the father of our poetry, uses *gost* and *body* in the sense of the modern phrase, mind and body. And it is also deserving of notice, that the word in the original Greek, which is translated spirit or ghost, means, in its primitive signification, air, breath, wind. Thus, as was very natural, the same word was made to stand for the air, that invisible element, which pervades and surrounds all things, supporting animal life; and also for the immaterial element in man's nature, the principle which inhabits, informs, moves our clay; and above all, for that great, unseen, eternal Intelligence, which made and governs the Universe, which some ancient philosophers conceived of as the *soul of the world*, but which Revelation represents as a separate, almighty, all-wise Being, from whom, and in whom, and to whom are all things. The language used by John gives us the idea of three baptisms or purifications, — by water, by fire, and by air or wind. These three natural agents are employed as purifiers in the material world.

The conception may be illustrated by an imaginary Dialogue between the three Angels of the Sea, the Fire, and the Air.

#### THE WATER-ANGEL.

'I must about my ceaseless work. The ocean ebbs and flows at my bidding, pouring its waters round the great

globe. This is the part assigned me by the Omnipotent Creator, by him "whose way is in the sea, and whose path is in the great waters." I "enter into the springs of the sea;" my palace is of coral, roofed with the overarching waves; "the waters compass me about, the depth closes me round about, the weeds are wrapped around my head, I sink down to the foundations of the mountains, the bars of the earth are about me." I minister to the great King as his purifier. Into my vast receptacle are poured the offal and refuse of the earth, and my waves wash them clean. The loathsome carcass, that was pushed out of sight, owns this baptism of water, and emerges a smooth and polished skeleton. See! how my "waters wear the stones," and the shells that are cast upon my shores attract admiration, and mock at all art. Out of this reservoir the clouds are supplied. My servants mount their vapor-cars, and are drawn up the celestial heights by the fire-breathing steeds of the sun. The yoked winds whirl them across the azure plains. See! how their shadow darkens the ground, as they drive along. They hide the lights of heaven from mortal eyes, as they pass. Hark! how with thunder-crash they roll over the pavement of the sky. And as they fly, they drop rich gifts upon the thirsty ground. The baptism of nature! How brightly do the rays of the returning sun glance from tree, herb and flower, and acknowledge the cleansing, renovating influence! Once this water-baptism was universal, when the deluge washed away the corruptions of a world.'

#### THE FIRE-ANGEL.

'Mine is a baptism more thorough and effectual than that of water. Thy streams lave the outside only and cannot reach the elements of things. Fire is a more perfect purifier. I "stand in the sun," and my beams spread in all directions, and fill the concave. Every place is searched by my influence, and my swift arrows penetrate the dark vapors, and disperse the powers of the air that gather for the destruction of mortals. In the great central orb treasures of heat are stored up, and at its rising fresh life returns to sleeping nature. The dark cloud is a magazine from which "sparks of fire leap out." The Lord maketh "his ministers a flaming fire;" "he directeth his lightning to



the ends of the earth." The electric flash darts on its rapid errand, and the air is purified by its passage. And in deep abysses, in unexplored recesses of the earth, my ministers tend the everlasting furnace, which burns and boils to purge away the dross of nature. Among the four things that cannot be satisfied, is "the fire, that saith not, It is enough." And in some undefined period of the future, when the frame-work of the world shall have grown old, and its impurities shall be beyond the reach of the baptism of water, the great globe shall be dissolved in the flames which I am feeding, and "new heavens and a new earth shall come forth," and "there shall be no more sea."

THE AIR-ANGEL.

'The office of water, as a purifier, reaches not beyond the outside. Whatever adheres to the surface of things is washed off by the waves. Fire is more searching in its influence. Yet in comparison with the subtile agency of air, even fire is a gross instrument. It is but a flame-wash in which the limbs of nature are dipped. My work is accomplished, but the agent is unseen. I assume no form which mortals can behold. They hear the sound of my wings, as I rush by, but cannot tell whence I come, or whither I go. My winds agitate the waves of the sea, and waft the clouds over the earth. My breath fans the flame. Where waves cannot flow, and where burning flame cannot make its way, I glide, unobstructed, unperceived. No place so secret I cannot occupy. No space so wide I cannot expand to. No substance so solid I cannot flow through. I surround, comprehend, fill all things. My baptism is universal.'

And there is an analogy, worthy of notice, in the history of the moral Dispensations of Providence. First came the Law by Moses. It was a code of express statutes. It was a catalogue of praiseworthy and blameworthy actions, with rewards and penalties annexed. It enjoined worship in a particular place, and specified what sacrifices and offerings should atone for particular offences. It appointed a priesthood, limited to the descendants of one family, deriving their right and authority to officiate, by inheritance, from a progenitor with whom the right originated.

It required exact obedience, literal conformity. It aimed at no more, and accomplished nothing more, than a rigid external righteousness. It was a baptism of water, that could only make clean the outside and present a fair surface.

Christianity succeeded, to complete what was imperfect in the Law. It contained no list of virtues and vices. It was not a code of special enactments. It sought rather to establish principles, and form dispositions in the soul, which should prompt to all the virtues, for which human life, with its ever-varying circumstances and relations, furnishes occasion. Its worship was not local, but spiritual. Its priesthood was after the order of Melchisedec, "without father or mother, without descent;" neither deriving authority from any who went before, nor communicating authority to any that should come after; drawing its commission and receiving its unction from God, by direct inspiration, or from the promptings of a holy and benevolent mind, moving its possessor to minister to his fellow-men. Instead of the old conception of a Providence, regulating only the outward condition of mankind, and taking cognizance only of their conduct, Christianity substituted the great doctrine of the Spirit, a Holy Spirit, a Spiritual Providence, which extends to the thoughts and purposes of the mind. It called for a "righteousness of faith," that should grow out of an inward conviction, which should be based upon an assent of the mind to truth, upon a sentiment of love in the heart, upon a principle of duty enthroned in the soul. It was a baptism of fire and of spirit, penetrating the most secret parts of man's nature, seeking, not so much to make improvements in any previous system of law, as to renew the spirit of men's minds, to create them anew, after the likeness of a true and holy pattern, which had been furnished, and to make them, in this way, a law unto themselves. The Christ, in whom this new pattern of humanity is embodied, was manifested to the world, and the spirit, whose office it is to fashion men after that Divine image, was given, and is to abide with us forever.

W. P. L.

## ART. XI.—CHRISTIAN LIFE IN THE EARLY AGES.\*

THE work of Neander, the title of which stands first at the foot of this page, and which was the first in the order of publication, brings down his history to the end of the third century, and we cordially thank the publisher for placing it before the American reader in so neat and economical a form. The republication, in one volume, embraces the two volumes of Mr. Rose's translation, the first published in England, in 1831,† and the second recently issued.

The character and merit of the work are too well known to need any commendation from us. Minute criticism may, no doubt, detect some faults, but a fairer and more impartial work, on the whole, we are not prepared soon to look for, on the history of the Church. The translator finds fault with some parts as not sufficiently favorable to the modern Church system of polity and doctrine. But this, in our view, is no blemish in the work. He that can find this system in the writings of primitive antiquity, must have sharper eyes than are accorded to most mortals. The truth is, the writer is honest, and does not attempt, with some, to *make* history, but only to write it.

It is not so easy, we think, to defend the author from the charge of a little occasional mistiness of thought; or perhaps mysticism would be a better word. But this is not so apparent as very materially to impair the value of the work. It can never, however, be a popular book. The periods are often long and unwieldy, never moving easily and gracefully. The author, too, is a little given to theorising; a propensity, however, more decidedly developed in his "*History of the Planting and Training of the Christian*

---

\* 1. *The History of the Christian Religion and Church during the three first Centuries.* By Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Translated from the German, by HENRY JOHN ROSE, B. D., Rector of Houghton Conquest, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 1843. 8vo. pp. 466.

2. *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.* By Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, Consistorial Counsellor, &c. Translated from the third edition of the original German, by J. E. RYLAND. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 1844. 8vo. pp. 330.

† See *Christian Examiner*, Vol. VII., New Series.



Church," a work of which we shall only say, that we consider it inferior in interest and value to that on the "History of the Christian Religion and Church." Then what he gives as quotations are often paraphrases rather. What is presented as a continuous quotation will be sometimes in vain sought in the original in the same form, but will be found to consist of sentences taken here and there from the passage referred to. On the whole we must say, that he quotes rather loosely.

Neander disclaims the name of pietist, as the term is frequently used,\* but freely pleads guilty of super-naturalism, if that be any crime. His views of Christianity are eminently spiritual, and this, in our opinion, constitutes one peculiar qualification for a Church historian, for a cold rationalistic way of viewing the subject we consider as hardly compatible with a due appreciation of the spirit and piety of the early ages. The primitive Christians had faith, and that faith was warm, and instinct with life and love, and he who would draw a faithful portrait of them must have something in his own breast with which such faith has an affinity, and from which it meets a response.

The author, says Mr. Rose, "appears to be chiefly solicitous about the improvement of the heart and affections by Christianity." It is this circumstance, we think, which gives to his work on the Christian Religion and Church its peculiar value and charm. We like him, if we may use the expression, for entering so much into the life and affections of the early Christians. This relieves his work from the harshness and dryness, which mark too many Christian histories, and render them all but unreadable. We mean not that he avoids treating of doctrines, controversies, and sects; of Bardesanes, Valentinus, and the rest, — Gnostics and Manicheans, — those old giants, who attempted to grapple with the great problem of human life, and the existence of evil; but he gives us something besides them. He conducts us to many green spots, where the air is redolent with flowers, and the ear is greeted with pleasant voices.

We will try to glean from him and from other sources, from the writings of antiquity especially, a few scattered

---

\* Preface to the Third Part.

facts relating to Christian life and worship in the early ages.

We pass by the Apostolic age, or period embraced by the writings of the New Testament, and ending about the close of the first century, when the last surviving Apostle, John, was withdrawn from the world. We take the period immediately subsequent, the second and part of the third centuries. What were the private life and social position of Christians? What was their worship? What festivals and rites did they celebrate? How was the Communion rite observed? What is its history viewed especially as a rite of the affections, and as connecting the dead with the living?

In the present article we shall confine ourselves to the first of these questions. We shall speak of Christian life, strictly so called, in the early ages, leaving rites and worship to a future number.

Christianity infused into the great mass of believers a principle of new interior life; and this could not but manifest itself in external acts, and it gave, in truth, a new coloring to the whole of existence. Of this principle — of the inner life of the Christian, — it is not our purpose to speak. From the nature of the case, we can judge of it only by its external manifestations. The ancient Christians were fond of describing the change which occurred in the passage from heathenism to Christianity, in the figurative language of Paul, as a "rising with Christ." It was to them the introduction to a new life, the dawning of a new hope; the coming out of a region of darkness, sin, and despair, and the entrance on an existence filled with joy and illuminated by those truths which had risen on the world, never to set. It was a true resurrection. It was a change, we may add, of which they who have been born and bred within the sound of the "church going bell," who have never known how desolate the world is without faith, find it difficult to form an adequate conception.

Christianity has been long secretly feeding the channels of human thought. It has created around us a new moral atmosphere; made devout mothers, and pious teachers; it has been silently acting on the human intellect for eighteen hundred years; it has given to the world a new civilization, and stamped a character on the literature which amuses

our childish fancy, and solaces the weary hours of decaying years. Hence we can hardly imagine the struggle of a heathen mind groping amid the darkness of contending systems for light and hope, — seeking at shrines, and oracles, and in pilgrimages to distant lands, the solution of doubts which filled the soul with inward torment ; nor the joy which sprang up in the heart when Christianity had taken root there.

Some of the early Fathers have left on record the process by which they became Christian, and the inward peace which followed. Of these, Justin Martyr, the earliest Christian writer after the Apostles, of whom we have any pure and undisputed remains,\* is one. Justin lived in the earlier part of the second century, and wrote two Apologies for Christianity and Christians. These, and his Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew, have come down to us little mutilated. In the last mentioned treatise he describes, in earnest language, his wanderings among different sects of philosophers, the Stoics, Pythagorians, the Peripatetics, and lastly the Platonists, in search of truth ; the little satisfaction he found in them, and the happiness of which he was conscious, when through the agency of an aged man, whom he accidentally met on the sea-shore, he was led to Christianity, which he regarded, to use his own language, as “ the only safe and useful philosophy.”

But we are not, as we said, to speak of the interior life of believers, nor we add, of their opinions and doctrines, and we leave, therefore, the philosophical Christians, and proceed to consider the position, conduct, usages, and morality of the great body of converts.

Whatever were the moral defects of the early Christians, and however imperfect their conceptions of some parts of Christian truth — and we are not contending for any golden age in the past — there was certainly a marked, and very broadly marked, distinction, and, in many respects, a clear contrast, between their lives and the lives of their heathen contemporaries ; else all records deceive us, and the gravest

---

\* The writings attributed to the Apostolic Fathers, as they are called, that is, the disciples or companions of the Apostles, are all of them either lost or interpolated. We possess none of their genuine remains in an unadulterated state. The hierarchical party cling to them, the Epistles of Ignatius especially, but the parts on which they rely bear incontestable evidence of a later hand, and are manifest forgeries. What is called the ecclesiastical period begins with Justin.



testimonies, delivered under circumstances which would seem to entitle them to implicit confidence, prove false. The two great principles of Christianity, holiness and love, were often carried out in their lives to an extent which may well cause surprise in the cold, skeptical mind; which the keen intellect of Gibbon tortures itself in vain to explain consistently with his infidel philosophy, and which cannot certainly be set down to mere vulgar fanaticism. Enthusiasts and mystics there might have been, and were, among them; it could not be otherwise; crude thinkers, too, many of them were; but in their lives they were generally sober and rational. Their faith was warm, glowing with its first fires; presenting a flame, "at which descending ages might light their exhausted lamps;" occasionally running into what some would pronounce unnecessary scruples; sometimes causing them to lay stress on what appear to us trifles; but still, in the main, we say, they were perfectly sober and rational.

Then it is to be considered, that their position was so different from ours, surrounded as they were, with all the fascinations of Paganism, and all the allurements of pleasure, — with the gorgeous pageantry of the old worship, and the thousand forms in which infidelity, garlanded with flowers, sought to win them back to the altars of their fathers, — that what we might deem innocent compliance, they might think dangerous concession, and where we might pronounce them over-nice, maintaining a strictness seemingly bordering on austerity, they were only true to the religion of the Cross. Truth is uncompromising, and they thought, and thought justly, that the Saviour's precepts of self-denial had a meaning. It became not them, they thought, to seek crowns of myrtle or the rose, when he wore one of thorns. "A crown of amaranth," said they, "is reserved for him who leads a holy life, a flower which earth is not capable of bearing, and heaven alone produces."

But what was the external, visible life of Christians of the second and earlier part of the third centuries? The first circumstance which arrests our attention is the highly practical character of their religion — its strict morality, and the importance it led them to ascribe to right action in all the relations of private and social life. The thoroughness of the moral reform produced by Christianity, and its

practical character, were more conspicuous than anything else, we had almost said than the change wrought in men's devotions even. Christianity, as they understood it, entered into all forms of life and all earthly relations; in all, its power was felt; the manners were transformed; the conduct changed; and this was continually appealed to, in the face of the heathen, as a circumstance which should soften their prejudice, and lead them to look with a more favorable eye on the new religion.

Christians had not yet, from an over-refined spiritualism, or from any other cause, thought it necessary to retire from the world. "They differ," says the author of the *Letter to Diognetus*,\* a very ancient document, found among the writings of Justin Martyr, but acknowledged not to be his, "from other men, neither in the place of their abode, nor in language, nor habits. They neither inhabit cities of their own, nor use any peculiar dialect, or any singular mode of life. Neither do they study any system wrought out by men of subtle intellect, nor follow any human dogma. They dwell in Greek and Barbarian towns, as may happen, following the customs of the inhabitants, in dress, food, and other things. \* \* \* They share everything as citizens — they obey the laws, and excel them in their lives. \* \* \* The soul is in the body, but not of it; so Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. As the soul preserves the body from corruption, so do Christians the world."

Of the change wrought by Christianity in the manners and lives of believers, all antiquity is full. It bears witness to the simplicity, truth, single-heartedness, love, and great moral purity and strictness of Christians of the day. "The name of Jesus," says Origen, "has a wonderful efficacy in introducing mildness, decency of manners, humanity, goodness, and gentleness among those who embrace the belief of the doctrine of God and Christ." Tatian, (A. D. 170,) says, "I desire not to reign; I wish not to be rich; I avoid military office; I abhor fornication; I care not to make voyages through the insatiate love of gain; I contend

---

\* Neander, (p. 417) speaks of this as one of the "most beautiful remains of Christian antiquity," and pronounces the description it gives of the Christian life a "splendid portraiture." The writer was evidently a Gentile convert.

not at the games in order to obtain a crown; I am far removed from the mad love of glory; I despise death; I am superior to every kind of disease; my soul is not consumed with grief. If I am a slave, I submit to my servitude; if I am free, I pride not myself in my noble birth. I see one sun common to all; I see one death common to all, whether they live in pleasure or in want.”\*

Such a life would be regarded with surprise by the heathen, and it is easy to see, would be a subject of cavil and censure. Indeed Christians were charged, among other things, with being idle and unprofitable citizens. This charge does not appear to have reference to military service, or to the exercise of the office of magistrates, of which we shall speak hereafter, but partly to their freedom from avarice and ambition, which led them to be moderate in the pursuit of earthly good, and partly to the circumstance that they brought no offering to the temples, and did nothing for the support of the games, or to encourage the various arts connected with an idolatrous worship. The mode in which the charge was replied to, throws some light on the manners of Christians of that time.

“How,” asks Tertullian, “can this charge lie against those, who live among you, use the same food and clothing, and are subject to the same necessities? For we are no Brahmins, no Indian Gymnosophists, no dwellers in woods, exiles from common life. We remember the gratitude we owe to God, and enjoy his gifts with moderation and without abuse. We do not retire from the forum, the markets, the baths, the shops, the places of public resort, but use them in common with you, and maintain intercourse with you in other things. We engage in common with you in navigation, in military service,† in agriculture, and trade, and you profit by our arts. What if I do not attend your ceremonies? I do not that day cease to be a man. I do not purchase garlands for my head, you say. What is it to you how I use the flowers I purchase? I think them more beautiful when left free and not gathered into a crown. — But we do not purchase incense for your altars.

\* Cont. Græc.—subjoined, with the Remains of Athenagoras and Theophilus of Antioch, to the works of Justin Martyr.—Ed. Colog. 1686. p. 150.

† “Vobiscum militamus.”



—If the Sabeans complain, let them know that we consider their spices of more value in the burial of the dead, than when used as offerings to the gods. Do you say, that the revenue of your temples falls off? We bring you a better revenue by leading honest lives, and paying what we owe.”\*

With the early Christians, religion was never a thing apart from the life. They served God by holy thoughts and just actions, by abstaining from evil and doing good. Theirs was not a religion of mere sensibility, of exaltation of feeling, or what are sometimes called spiritual exercises. There was in it little of what in modern times would be called excitement, though a great deal of earnestness, and entire truthfulness and sincerity. It was not the foaming torrent; it was a stream gently flowing on, through sun and shade, fertilizing and making green its banks.

All the Apologists appeal with confidence to the moral character and innocent lives of Christians, which shone out with so much beauty amid the deformity and vices of Paganism. And there is no reason, in the main, to distrust their representations. Had they spoken falsely, their falsehood would have been immediately detected by the hostile world in which they lived. The daily life of Christians was open to all, for, as we have seen, they mixed freely with their fellow-citizens. “We are of yesterday,” says Tertullian, “yet we fill all parts of your empire, your cities, your islands, your fortresses, your very camps, your towns, the palace, the senate, the forum. We leave you only your temples.”† This being so, the Apologists must have been bold men when they challenged inquiry, — and said, “Search your prisons; though you will find multitudes confined there, you will not meet one there who is a Christian, unless he be there because he is a Christian, and not because he has committed any crime,” — if they could not make good their assertion.

The strictness with which Christ’s moral precepts were interpreted, appears from such passages as the following, and we could quote multitudes to the same effect. “Among us,” says Athenagoras, “you may find illiterate persons, and artisans, and old women, who, if they cannot show the

---

\* Apol. c. 42.

† Apol. c. 37.

benefits resulting from their profession by words, show it by practice. For they do not commit words to memory, but show forth good deeds; when struck, they strike not again; when robbed, they have not recourse to the law; they give to those who ask, and love their neighbors as themselves."\*

Dismissing now these general views, let us take a single principle — the principle of love — by our Saviour made the one test of discipleship. Let us consider this principle as it manifested itself among the ancient Christians. Their singular love for each other attracted universal notice. The heathen could not but remark upon it with surprise. "See, say they, how these Christians love each other," is an expression of Tertullian. There was a warmth and heartiness of sympathy among them, which showed how deeply the principle of Christian love had struck root in their hearts. This love was strengthened, as was natural, by the common dangers and sufferings to which they were exposed as a persecuted sect.

All their intercourse was affectionate. The brotherly and sisterly kiss, the kiss of peace at Communion, and on the reception of a new member into the church, and the kiss of salutation on the first meeting of Christians with each other, were given in token of sympathy. This custom, originally innocent and growing out of the purest feeling, the feeling of common relationship, and confined to those of the same sex, it is true was afterwards abused, or degenerated into a mere form. As early as the time of Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 200, it began in that rich and luxurious city to be made matter of ostentation. Many, he says, disturbed the church by the brotherly kiss, without having the spirit of love in their hearts, and open and frequent salutations in the streets offended the eyes of the unbelieving Alexandrians; and the custom, as were other customs from time to time, was gradually laid aside.

On casting our eyes back on those ages, however, we find other tokens less equivocal, of the love which Christians bore to each other, and to their fellow-beings. The precepts of the Saviour, commanding his disciples to pray for their persecutors, to return blessing for cursing, and

---

\* Legat. p. 12. Just. M. Opp. — Ed. Colog. 1686.

love for hate, would seem to have been fulfilled by them to the letter. We express no more than the strict truth, we believe, when we say that their sufferings did not chill their kind affections, did not turn their love to hate; and their patience under them, while it was viewed with astonishment by spectators, won over many hearts to the religion of the humble Galilean. It did more than miracles, more than argument, more than eloquence. "The only effect of your exquisite cruelty," says Tertullian, at the close of his Apology, "is to allure others to the sect. We grow in number, the more you persecute us. The blood of Christians is the seed. That obstinacy with which you reproach us is an instructress. Who on seeing it is not moved to inquire the cause? Who that inquires, does not join us?"

Of their active philanthropy we have the most abundant proof. Though all things were not literally in common, all was so far common, as any had need.\* The distinction of rich and poor existed, the rights of property were respected, and each one had his own. But no one was allowed to suffer from want of what another possessed. There is no subject perhaps more frequently alluded to by writers of those times than the ready sympathy manifested by Christians for the destitute, the stranger, the sick and infirm, the prisoner, the widow, and the orphan. On this subject Neander quotes the words of Tertullian, who "lays it down as one of the joys attendant on a marriage between Christians, that the wife may visit the sick and support the needy, and not need be under anxiety about her almsgiving." The absent were remembered, and especially those who had fallen into any calamity. The wealthy churches of the cities sent contributions to the poorer country, or provincial, churches, and large sums were raised, in one instance more than 4000 dollars at Carthage, to redeem those who had

---

\* This, we are confident, is the usual force of the expression, "having all things in common," where it occurs, which is not very often, in the writings of the Fathers. Only very rarely is it used in a stricter sense. We meet with an apparent instance in the Epistle to Diognetus, a very early writing, as we have said. He speaks of Christians as spreading a "common table." It is possible that he is to be understood with the restriction mentioned above. If he is to be understood literally, and refers to the partaking of common food, as we should say "living in common," the practice did not long continue, and was never general even in the days of the Apostles. — The poor, the sick, prisoners, widows, and orphans, referred to, were Christians.



been taken captive by Barbarians. Cyprian sends it with an affectionate letter, and requests that information be given if a similar calamity should fall on others, for they should always, he said, receive help. Even martyrdom found its consolations in Christian love. Those who were imprisoned on account of their religion, and some of whom were waiting their death, had the satisfaction of knowing that they were remembered in the prayers of Christians; each morning presented the spectacle of aged women, widows, and orphans, who had come to testify their sympathy; distant communities of believers sent messengers to aid and comfort them; devout lips kissed their chains; all their wants were provided for, and nothing was omitted which could demonstrate the lively interest their brethren took in their fate, or could mitigate its severity.

But we should do injustice to the ancient Christians, if we supposed that their charity was always confined to believers. Some beautiful pictures of their disinterestedness and self-devotion, contrasting strongly with the cold selfishness of the age, have been transmitted to us. In some fragments of Letters of Dionysius of Alexandria, preserved by Eusebius,\* we have an account of the conduct of Christians during the prevalence of a terrible pestilence in Egypt. Though they had been driven away by severe persecution, they returned in the midst of the pestilence to render offices of compassion to the dying, and perform decent rites for the dead. With the heathen, as Neander remarks, "matters stood quite differently; at the first symptom of sickness they drove a man from their society, they tore themselves away from their dearest connexions; they threw the half dead into the streets, and left the dead unburied; endeavoring by all the means in their power to escape contagion."† A similar result was witnessed during a time of great mortal sickness at Carthage. While "the heathen, out of cowardice, left the sick and the dying, and the streets were full of the dead, which no man dared to bury, Cyprian assembled his people around him, and urged them strongly to deeds of mercy. The effect was instantaneous. "Encouraged by his paternal admonition," says his old biographer, Pontius, one of his deacons, "the members of the church addressed themselves to the work,

---

\* B. vii. c. 22.

† Neander. p. 158.

the rich contributing money, and the poor their labor, so that in a short time the streets were cleared of the dead which filled them, and the city saved from the dangers of a universal pestilence."

We pass now by a somewhat abrupt transition to the views and conduct of Christians in regard to amusements, — theatrical entertainments and games, pomps, festivals, and shows. What sort of amusements are permitted to what are called religious people, is a question about which there is as much dispute now as there ever has been. It is a question which has been always agitated, and never settled. Persons differ in their views of relaxation and innocent indulgence, according to their temperament, education, and social position, and the character and spirit of the times. What is considered as perfectly allowable in one age or country, is condemned in another. How remarkably is this true of Protestant and Catholic countries. Some lean to the side of asceticism, and regard every throb of pleasure, and every cheerful emotion almost, as criminal. Others incline to the side of freedom and liberality. Piety is with them a joyous feeling, and as they look out upon the bright sun and green earth, their spirits rejoice, and they would deem themselves, in Milton's phrase, as guilty of "sullenness against nature," and nature's God, not to rejoice. And why, they ask, should joy be banished from social life? Or why should amusements be proscribed? Why set the seal of reprobation upon them? Why ask, or expect us always to bear about with us a serious look, to visit only serious people, or read only serious books? Some would banish all light reading, and others read little else. Some would be always thoughtful, and they never unbend without doing penance for it afterwards, and asking God's forgiveness. Others take Pope's lines for their motto,

"For God is paid when man receives;

T' enjoy is to obey."

Now where is the medium? Where shall we draw the delicate line on one side of which lies innocent recreation, and on the other, forbidden pleasure? These are questions, many will think, more easily asked, than answered. It is not our present business to reply to them, but to speak of the conduct of the ancient Christians in regard to amusements — such amusements as existed in their day.

In regard to the pleasures of the world, no doubt, the early Christians were very strict. Nor is this strictness in its original character, at least, to be attributed to that false spiritualism which crept in with the Oriental philosophy, — a philosophy which taught contempt of the body, and favored abstract, solitary contemplation, as furnishing the wings on which the soul mounted to God, and by which it might almost anticipate the beatific vision accorded to the saints in the heavenly Paradise. This led to all the follies of monkery. But the strictness of the early Christians was a moral strictness, springing from a principle altogether different.

Several circumstances, however, combined to spread over the lives of the ancient Christians an unusual seriousness. From pressing too literally some expressions used by the Apostles, they were led into the belief that the world was soon to pass away, and the general judgment to take place. We do not now refer to the gross ideas of the millennium, which prevailed for a time in the Church, which Papias, a man, according to Eusebius, of small intellect, has the credit of propagating, and to which numbers, influenced by the "antiquity of the man," listened. Of those who rejected these grosser doctrines, there were multitudes who still held the opinion that the time was not far distant, when Christ would reveal himself, and the present order of things come to an end. With such a belief, how could Christians give themselves up to the light-hearted and careless enjoyments of their heathen neighbors?

Further, most of the amusements of the age were in some way connected with idolatrous ideas and ceremonies. Christians, too, were a persecuted people, and while numbers of them were languishing in prison, or enduring the pains of martyrdom, there would be little time to think of the vanities of the world, or they would be remembered only to be despised.

These circumstances are to be taken into account along with the great conscientiousness of Christians already noticed, and they will often help to explain the grounds of their decisions and conduct.

Minucius Felix, a Roman lawyer, a convert to Christianity, who lived at the beginning of the third century, in his Dialogue in defence of his newly adopted religion, called



Octavius, puts into the mouth of Cecilius, who sustains the heathen part of the dialogue, the following somewhat graphic description of the manners and life of Christians as they appeared to a heathen. "Fearful and anxious, you abstain from pleasures in which there is nothing indecorous; you visit no shows; you attend no pageants; you are seen at no public banquets; the sacred games, and food and drink used in the sacrifices, you abhor; you thus fear the Gods whom you deny; you bind not your brows with garlands; you use no perfumes for the body; your aromatics you reserve for burials; you refuse even crowns of flowers to the sepulchres; pallid, trembling, you are fit objects of commiseration to our Gods." In another place he calls them a "people who fled the light, who hid themselves in darkness; mute in public, garrulous in corners." This, it will be recollected, is a heathen picture. What was the Christian view?

Take the pleasures of the theatre, including the circus, "pantomimic shows, tragedies, comedies, and the chariot and foot races," all scenic exhibitions. Of these entertainments the Romans were extravagantly fond, and it cost the Christians no light struggle, wholly and at once to tear themselves away from them. On this, however, the Christian teachers strongly insisted, and with so much success, that to say that a person abstained from the amusements of the theatre was with the heathen equivalent to saying that he had become a Christian.

There were several reasons alleged why Christians should not be present at these amusements. Much occurred in them which "violated the moral feelings and the decencies of Christians." Besides that an unholy spirit breathed in them, — the frivolities which reigned there, the "hour-long pursuit of idle and vain objects," and the tumult and uproar which often prevailed, were viewed as incompatible with the seriousness of the Christian character. Then, it is well known, they were, many of them, connected with heathen ideas, or worship, which rendered it dangerous for a Christian to be present at them, if not in itself an act of disloyalty to his Master. In weaker Christians, who were induced by the prevailing manners, and the solicitations of their heathen neighbors, to attend them, the love of them, it was observed, revived, and they were lead back to heathenism. With

such examples before them, and in view of all the immorality and vices exhibited at the public spectacles and entertainments, it was in vain argued that "the outward pleasures of the eye and ear need not banish religion from the heart." Sad experience, it would be contended, taught a different lesson.

Players were not admitted members of churches, and the case is mentioned of one who, having renounced the stage himself, wished to obtain a living by instructing boys in the art of acting. The question was referred to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, whether this could be permitted. 'No,' says he, at once. 'If such an one pretend poverty, let him be relieved, yet not in such a way that he shall consider himself as bought off from a sinful occupation. If the church where he is be too poor to help him, let him come to Carthage, and be sure that he shall be provided for, and be put in the way of getting an honest living.'

So reasoned, and so acted the ancient Christians. The struggle was a difficult one, but the Church was unyielding. The theatres were regarded as the devil's ground, and there were seen the pomp and idolatry of the world. They were the devil's ground, for he and the demons under him were, according to the Christian Fathers, the authors of the whole system of heathen mythology, which was there recognized; the inspirers of all the beautiful forms of Pagan worship and poetry, by which souls were deluded and lost. They spoke in the oracles; they wove the fables which Ovid and others sang; they feigned love, hate, sighs, and tears, in the easy dialogue of Terence; they taught the muse of Homer; they guided the chisel of Praxiteles. But the theatres were their chosen seat, because there, while the ear drank in fiction, the eye wandered over exquisite specimens of art, many of them representing idolatrous forms and images; and sculpture, poetry and painting, all combined to delude the imagination and cheat the senses.\*

For another and different reason the games of the amphitheatre, and all gladiatorial shows, and combats with wild beasts, were shunned. It was, that they were attended

---

\* A woman attended the theatre, (one of the Fathers tells the story,) and returned home, possessed with a demon. The demon being questioned, replied, "I had a right to her, for I found her on my own ground."

with cruelty. The Romans, with all their philosophy and all their boasted civilization, took delight in cruel sports, and there is no fact in all Christian antiquity which tells more for the honor of Christians, or furnishes a more beautiful illustration of the spirit of Christian love which had taken possession of their hearts, than the horror of these sports which they from the first manifested. They could not look upon them; they could not be present at them. The same, we may add, was true of public executions. The propriety of them does not appear to have been questioned by the ancient Christians, but they could not witness them. Athenagoras, repelling the charge of unnatural crimes imputed to the Christians, asks, how one can accuse of such crimes those who "cannot bear to be present even at the execution of a person justly condemned. While others rush with eagerness to behold the combats of gladiators, and the conflicts with wild beasts, we renounce such sights; thinking there is little difference between witnessing and committing homicide." Cyprian says, "if you cast your eyes upon the towns, you meet with an assembly more frightful than solitude. A combat of gladiators is in preparation in order to gratify the thirst of cruel eyes with blood. A man is put to death for the pleasure of men, murder becomes a profession, and crime not only practised, but even taught."

To talk in this strain, and act consistently, may seem very easy now. But we must recollect that the early Christians lived in a very different moral atmosphere. What they condemned, public sentiment and fashion sanctioned. The most refined and moral of the land, the beautiful, the gentle, the accomplished, ay, delicate woman, was there,—taking pleasure in that which the roughest artisan, illiterate, coarse-clad, could not from beneath his weather-beaten brow gaze upon without shuddering, because he had received Christianity into his heart.

We hardly need say after what has preceded, that all excessive ornament was condemned. The minuteness to which some of the good old Fathers of the church, Clement in particular, descend in commenting on the love of dress, and the various articles of a lady's toilet, and, we may add, a gentleman's too, is indeed sometimes amusing, though it affords a good illustration of the manners of the age. Our



Puritan ancestors could not have had a greater horror of female ornament, than these old Fathers. One cannot but smile at Clement's comparison: "They who adorn only the outward, but neglect the inward man, are like the Egyptian temples, presenting every species of external decoration, but containing within, not a deity, but a cat, or crocodile, or some vile animal." But though ornament was condemned, it was still worn, much we suppose then as now. For whom were jewels and bright things made, asked the ladies, if not for us? And their husbands, we suppose, sometimes yielded, though the religious guide frowned, as religious guides sometimes will. The "rich damsels of Carthage," who were dedicated to God even, went into such extravagance that Father Cyprian felt compelled to address them a letter on the subject. Clement mentions the extravagance of the ladies of Alexandria in giving ten thousand talents for a single garment, while the price of a female, if she sold herself into bondage, was only a thousand drachms.\*

The wearing of chaplets, and garlands of flowers, was prohibited not only as superfluous ornaments to a fair brow, but partly because the flowers of which they were composed were, for the most part, consecrated to heathen deities, as the rose to the Muses, the lily to Juno, and the myrtle to Diana; and partly because they were worn by the heathen at banquets and festivals, and what was done by heathens it was not fit, they thought, that Christians should imitate. The use of them too, might probably be forbidden from prudential reasons, to prevent Christians from attending those banquets, since custom required that, if they were present, they should appear crowned. So the illumination of their houses with torches, or ornamenting them with laurel, on the festival days of the heathen, was not allowed.

In some matters of this sort they may appear to us to have been over scrupulous — they possibly were — but

---

\* The *Pædagogus* of Clement of Alexandria is the great source of information in regard to the manners and habits of the Alexandrians and Alexandrian Christians of his day. In the *Christian Examiner*, Vol. V. 3d series, p. 137, some account will be found of this work, in connexion with Christian life in Egypt, of which we cannot now speak. The instance of extravagance above referred to is given by Bishop Kaye, in his work on Clement.

such facts go to show their extreme conscientiousness, and the extent to which they brought religion to bear on their daily acts and indulgences. Had they neglected inward purity, and what belongs to the soul, the charge of Pharisaism might fasten upon them. But of this they cannot be accused, and we can readily pardon them, if their horror of heathenism, the deformity and sins of which were before their eyes, led them sometimes to renounce things innocent, because such things, by their close contact with what they so much abhorred, seemed to them to have contracted pollution. So it was with the Puritans, who could endure none of the vestments, or as they called them, the rags, of Popery.

It may be well supposed, that a just abhorrence of idolatry and dread of the contaminations of heathenism would cut off Christians from the use of many arts and occupations, on which they had been heretofore accustomed to rely for sustenance, and that much poverty and distress would be the consequence. And so it was; but the sacrifice appears to have been, in most cases, cheerfully met. Certainly the Christian teachers were uncompromising on the subject. None were admitted to baptism till they had pledged themselves to renounce all trades and professions which had any connexion, however remote, with heathen rites, ideas, or worship, or which could be considered as in any way countenancing them. Thus, — to specify a few particulars, — to make pictures of false Gods, or images, or statues, or to deal in them, was to be engaged, they thought, in the service of idolatry. Professors of rhetoric were looked upon with suspicion, because they drew illustrations and ornaments of discourse from the stores of heathen mythology. Tertullian will not allow merchants to furnish commodities for adorning the temples, nor sell spices for incense, nor Christians to feast on days set apart by the heathen in honor of their Gods. But he, Montanist as he was, grants them some indulgence, for he allows them to attend the bridal rites of a relative, though sacrifices were offered there, and servants to attend their masters to sacrifices.

We come now to the performance of civil and military duties. The Christian teachers strictly enjoined obedience to the civil magistrate, with the exception, however, of things condemned by the law of God, — an exception which gave

little satisfaction to their Pagan rulers. No disposition was manifested to bid "wild defiance" to existing institutions. "Christianity gave its sanction," says Neander, "to all existing human institutions as far as there was nothing in them which contravened the law of God; it left its genuine professors to walk in the laws and institutions which they found existing, even where they were oppressive to them, with resignation and self-denial." Certain it is, the early Christians were anxious to defraud the civil magistrate of nothing which was his due, unless we construe the omission of some honorary ceremonies regarded as idolatrous as robbery. They freely paid taxes and customs. The coin to Cæsar, and yourself to God, was their constant maxim. The coin bears the image of Cæsar; your souls, of God.

In regard to the acceptance of civil office, there was undoubtedly a difference of opinion among the ancient Christians. Some, it would seem, refused it, and the humble, unambitious character of Christians repressed all desire of exercising the magistracy, while their views of the destination of the soul, and the ennobling power of Christian goodness, taught them to hold cheap all human honors. They who shunned office, not from mere feeling or preference, but as matter of religious obligation, did it not because they had any scruple, generally speaking, of the lawfulness of exercising the magistracy in itself considered, but because it required the performance of some heathen ceremonies, or was in some way connected with idolatrous rites, or demanded a recognition of Pagan customs. Besides, how could they accept office, to any extent, under a government which often made it their duty to denounce their fellow Christians? There were many Pagan edicts which no Christian could execute. The conduct of Christians is readily explained by reference to the position they occupied, and we see not well how it could have been different. It is a great error, often committed in appeals to the example of the early Christians, that their social position and the character of the institutions under which they lived, all founded on heathen ideas, are not taken into account. And yet, as we have said, they committed no violent assault on those institutions. "The affairs of the world," says Clement, "may be administered by a Christian, with God's will, after an unworldly manner, and thus those who



are in trade, publicans and the like, may show a spirit of (Christian) philosophy."

But how was it with regard to military service? It is contended, on one hand, that it was regarded by the ancient Christians as unlawful to bear arms. This assertion is not true without very essential qualification. It is true that the ancient Christians were averse to war — averse to the sight of blood even. The principle of love, of humanity, was strong in them, and many of them did, without doubt, refuse to bear arms, and considered it as unchristian to do so; but not universally. Tertullian, who after he became a Montanist, entertained opinions more rigid than were those of most of his fellow Christians, in his treatise on Idolatry, condemns the bearing of arms. But in two passages, already quoted from him, he expressly recognizes Christians as soldiers: he says they were found in the "camps;" and again, "we perform military service in common with you."

We are not arguing the question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of war. We yield, we trust, to none in our detestation of the war-spirit. But we value truth, and in describing the manners and lives of the ancient Christians, we must represent them as they are, and not as we might wish to find them. Undoubtedly passages are found in the Fathers condemning the use of arms. But then we are met by other passages, like those already quoted, and we could adduce others, which prove that Christians did not wholly decline military service, nor was it universally regarded by them as unlawful — nay, that it was quite common with them to be engaged in it. The story of the Thundering Legion, if there be any truth in it, shows that Christian soldiers were somewhat numerous at a very early period, and if there had not been Christian soldiers in the armies, it would hardly have been fabricated. The storm and the victory are well authenticated, and happened A. D. 174.

But there is one consideration further to be added. They who engaged in military service might be employed in executing edicts against their fellow Christians, and the exercise of military command, like the exercise of civil authority, frequently, if not always, involved the necessity of using or recognizing Pagan ceremonies; and the devices on military standards, and many other objects and usages of

heathen origin would naturally alarm the sensitive consciences of Christians; and military service would thus be avoided, when it well could be, not for its cruelty merely, or because regarded as unlawful in itself, but from the horror of partaking in the sin of idolatry. Thus Tertullian considers the bearing of arms as countenancing idolatry.

It is exceedingly dangerous to quote the Fathers in detached passages, and without reference to the opinions and usages of the age, and the various, and as it may sometimes seem to the modern reader, very singular aspects under which they viewed objects. To how many does it now occur, when the testimony of the Fathers and the example of the early Christians are appealed to as condemning the acceptance of civil and military offices, that one of the motives which operated powerfully with them was the dread of idolatry? Yet so it was.

The truth is, there were two parties in the ancient Church, one more, the other less rigid; — one condemning the use of arms as irreconcilable with the spirit of Christian love, or as connected with idolatrous practices, or as incompatible with the humility which became those who, in imitation of the Saviour, had renounced the pomp and vanities and pleasures of the world; while the other, appealing to examples not of the Old Testament merely, but the New, to the case of the Centurion, especially, whom Christ commended, took different ground, affirming that though a person should not by a participation in heathen ceremonies deny his allegiance to the Saviour, yet without this the profession of arms was not necessarily criminal. In bringing men over to Christianity, it was found, after all, much more difficult to contend with the love of pleasure, than with the war-spirit, and the theatre was regarded with far more jealousy than the camp.

Our sketch would be imperfect without some notice of marriage and domestic life. On looking back on the ancient Christian world, it is easy to see that Christianity operated in various ways to refine and exalt the character of domestic relations. By giving new prominence to the doctrine of individual responsibility, by teaching the immortality of the soul, by awakening, as they had never been awakened before, the kind affections, and by inculcating universal purity of thought and manners, it exerted an influ-

ence, the effects of which were soon visible. The language in which woman was spoken of, and the feeling towards her, changed, and she became more worthy of love. She was no longer treated as the plaything of man, or the minister to his pleasures. In common with every human being she was regarded as a holy thing, a child of God, and entitled to reverence. A new and more ennobling feeling insensibly grew up towards her. "Woman," says Clement of Alexandria, "is as capable of arriving at perfection as man;" and her character, wrought upon by Christian influences, speedily developed new germs of strength and beauty. The writings of the Fathers, dry and crabbed as they are in most respects, certainly breathe throughout respect for woman; and when woman is respected, and marriage is connected with all the holy associations which the Gospel throws around it, the influence must soon be felt in all the relations of domestic and social life. "It was Christianity which first presented marriage to the world in the light of a union of deep religious and spiritual import, the communion which belongs to a higher state of life, a union which reaches beyond this transitory world, and unites in one common life the mutual and consecrated powers of two beings to the glory of God."\* So the religion of the ancient Christians led them to view marriage, and the Christian writings of the age treat largely of the domestic duties—the duties of Christian men, and Christian women at home, and in the intercourse of social life.†

Marriage was made a religious rite, and the communion of the Supper, the token of Christian affection, and pledge of obedience to one common Master, which accompanied the bridal ceremony, gave peculiar solemnity to the transaction. A joint oblation was made to the church by the bride and bridegroom, and a blessing was implored upon

---

\* Neander. p. 175.

† The world owes a debt to Christian mothers, which it can never repay. It has been often remarked, that great and good men have been generally indebted to the influence of mothers in awakening the powers of the moral, if not of the intellectual, life. It was in reference to this influence that the elder President Adams, we think it was, once used the expression, "God bless our mothers." We are forcibly reminded of this expression by the exclamation of the heathen, "What women the Christians have!"—a noble testimony to the refining and elevating power of Christianity, and the most beautiful tribute, perhaps, to the merit of woman, which all antiquity, heathen or Christian, furnishes.



them in prayer. If any of our fair readers ask us in what the ceremony consisted in other respects, we confess our inability, at present, to give them any satisfactory information, except that the kiss and joining of hands formed parts of it, and the deaconesses were expected to be present as well as the pastor, and the only ring mentioned is the espousal ring, or ring of betrothment, which had been previously put on the lady's finger.

Christians of the second and third centuries were strongly opposed to second marriages, and celibacy, though not enjoined, was honored. But the ascetic spirit came in, and the more just views of Christianity, as designed to enter into all the social relations and purify and exalt them all, gradually yielded to a fanatical preference for a retired and contemplative life, which terminated in the extravagances of monkery.

But we must for the present bring our remarks to a close. It is difficult for us to place ourselves in the position of the ancient Christians, encompassed as they were, by social influences so different, as we have said, from those in the midst of which we live, and exposed to errors in philosophy and science, which time and the research of many centuries have served slowly to correct, and we are therefore in danger of doing them injustice in our thoughts. They should be honored for what they did, not be sternly judged for their faults.

Of the power of Christianity in bringing about a great moral and social reform, entering into all the intimacies of domestic life and all human relations, they certainly afford abundant proof. That the early believers had blemishes we admit, great blemishes and faults, it may be; but these, many of them at least, were the natural result of their position, and they are not of a nature to make us forget the many beautiful forms of Christian devotion and love, which fall under the eye, as it wanders back to those buried ages;—and we are hardly in danger of over-rating their conscientiousness, their quiet and retiring virtues, their peaceful manners, their patience under reproach and suffering, their scrupulous morality, and their care to serve God by their daily acts, and the moral beauty of their lives, as the most acceptable offering they could lay before his throne.

A. L.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*The Education of Mothers; or the Civilization of Mankind by Women.* By L. AIME-MARTIN. Being the work to which the Prize of the French Academy was awarded. Translated from the French by EDWIN LEE, Esq. First American, from the London edition. Philadelphia. 1843. 12mo. pp. 308.

WE are glad to see an American reprint of a work which has been so popular abroad, and think it a good omen for France that such a work has been popular there. We discover so much more good sense and true religion in the views held by Aimé-Martin on the great subject of female education, than we have been accustomed to find pervading French society, that we may well indulge a philanthropic joy over his pages. But whether the same treatise will be carefully read and profitably remembered in this country, seems to us very doubtful. Still the whole subject of education is here a matter of general and familiar interest; and any thing which promises novelty or information is sure of attention. Here woman, in particular, feels how much she has at stake, and realizes the power of her position in regard to education. Therefore the book will probably be read with curiosity, and perhaps effect; and we wish, in view of the good it might accomplish, that it were more condensed, clear, practical, and free from French extravagance.

The religion of the writer seems to us spiritual and rational; a combination with which we should think none could find fault. His style indicates an earnest spirit, and he gives strong proofs of an observing mind. His philosophy appears to us somewhat speculative; some of his statements in psychology requiring more than bare assertion to satisfy us. And yet, feeling, as we do, the deepest anxiety that the mothers of America should be penetrated with the desire of giving better men to the next generation, (and of course wiser in the true sense,) we heartily urge them to reserve for this work some hours of study. It holds up to them the true standard, it enforces the absolute necessity of bringing out the religious and moral natures of the young, if there be any solicitude for the temporal or spiritual welfare of the beloved child, any due sense of maternal accountability.

There is one of the simplest remarks of this author, which should be the foundation of a very different system of female education from that prevailing about us. "The education of

women is so superficial, they are so little accustomed to serious thought." Serious thought! serious thought! When shall our young girls learn to think, or have time to think, — hurried as they now are from task to task, hearing, seeing, rehearsing, practising, reciting, learning what others have thought and do think, but never thinking themselves; never exercising the glorious power of meditation, inward reasoning, silent speculation upon the thousand questions, which have as much import to them as to man. Can the reasoning powers grow without exercise, any more than the muscle and sinew? And, — we would put the question with a painful seriousness, — is the course now pursued by the multitude of American mothers in "bringing up" their children (to use the common phrase) likely to "bring out" the souls of these children, even to make them feel that they have souls, any thing but intellect, or physical endowment?

The original of this work was favorably noticed in the *Christian Examiner* for March, 1840. But the first American edition seems to us to call for a new welcome.

H.

---

*History of all Christian Sects and Denominations; their Origin, Peculiar Tenets, and Present Condition. With an Introductory Account of Atheists, Deists, Jews, Mahometans, Pagans, &c.* By JOHN EVANS, LL. D. From the fifteenth London Edition. Revised and Enlarged, with the addition of the most recent Statistics relating to Religious Sects in the United States. By the AMERICAN EDITOR. New York. 1844. 12mo., pp. 288.

THIS is a fresh reprint of a work which has been for many years before the public, and had an extensive sale. The author, in his preface to the fifteenth London edition, speaks of its "unrivalled circulation," he having witnessed the "issuing of one hundred thousand copies of his little book from the press." Several additions, it seems, have been made by the American editor, and some "improvements" introduced; but as they are not distinguished by any mark, and we have not the London edition before us, we have, at present, no means of ascertaining what they are. We confess that this mode of republication does not satisfy us. The additions may be of value, as we have no doubt they are in the present case, and the alleged "improvements" may be real; but we like, in general, to know what the author wrote, and what has been changed or added. It is doing injustice to the author, too, to mix up what he wrote with matter supplied by another hand, without any note of distinction, and as to alterations, it is still worse. He may, or may not, think them improvements.



The book, however, taken as a whole, is written in an upright and charitable spirit, and affords in the main, we should think, a faithful sketch of the sentiments of the several denominations of which it treats. This is accompanied with valuable historical notices. The articles are necessarily brief. That on Unitarianism occupies nine pages. Twelve pages are given to the "Tractarians or Puseyites," four to the "Come-Outers," and as many to the Millerites. We remark as rather a singular omission, that the Congregationalists, though twice mentioned, have no separate article assigned them. The "Humanitarians" appear as a sect, but no statistics are given. Only one individual is named, and that is Rev. Theodore Parker, of Roxbury, who is called "one of the ablest of modern Humanitarians," and extracts to the amount of five pages are given from one of his discourses as explanatory of his views.

The book has some defects, but contains a good deal of useful information in a very readable form, and its circulation, we believe, may do good by making the different classes of Christians better acquainted with each other's sentiments.

The story about Charles V. in his "monastery" with his "clocks and watches," we see, is permitted to stand. We observe, too, that Rev. Dr. Mayhew of Boston is enumerated among those who "publicly preached" the doctrine of Universalism before the arrival of Rev. John Murray, in 1770. We suppose that this is a blunder.

L.

---

*Letter to a Lady in France on the Supposed Failure of a National Bank, the Supposed Delinquency of the National Government, the Debts of the several States, and Repudiation; with Answers to Inquiries concerning the Books of Capt. Marryatt and Mr. Dickens.* Boston: B. H. Greene. 1843. 8vo. pp. 56.

HERE is a pamphlet written with great good sense and good temper, and in a plain and easy style, on some of the most interesting topics which can now engage the attention of Americans. It is well known that the credit of the nation has greatly suffered abroad, and we are pronounced, by many, a nation of bankrupts and swindlers. A citizen of the United States travelling in Europe, or visiting it for purposes of business, is exposed to hear his country, in the character of which he has hitherto taken a just pride, and which still stands first in his affections, constantly charged with bad faith, and other faults or crimes; and to some of the accusations brought against it he finds it difficult, perhaps, to give any very satisfactory reply, or

at least, any reply which foreigners, imperfectly acquainted as they are with the nature of our institutions, shall deem sufficient. The worst is, that the failure of some of the States to meet their obligations in Europe is charged as a fault upon Republican institutions, and the sacred cause of freedom is suffering from our delinquencies. An intelligent American, now in England, speaking of repudiation, says, in a letter we have just received: "this is a subject which comes quite home to the feelings of Americans residing in Great Britain; but a person must be *present* here to *realize* how our country has fallen in the estimation of Europe since the stoppage of interest on the part of some of the States. \* \* \* \* \* The best friends of freedom and reform whom England contains, assure me that they can do nothing, while America continues in her present unenviable position. Our non-payment is attributed to the nature of our Republican institutions; and despots, who ten years ago trembled upon the mention of the free, prosperous, and happy United States, now repose in undisturbed rest, and rivet the chains about the liberties of their subjects closer than ever." Similar accounts, of the odium we have incurred, cross the Atlantic every month.

The pamphlet before us is a Letter addressed to an American lady in France, who went to Europe while very young, and when "all was tranquil and flourishing in the United States," and who, it seems, has recently written "to inquire what ground there could possibly be for the dreadful accusations she hears against us everywhere abroad." The Letter is published at the request of some friends to whom it was shown, and who "had ridiculed the idea of any attempt at exculpation, supposing that the nation was dishonored past hope." The writer has done well to consent to its publication, and for ourselves we thank him for it. He states circumstances as they are, without, however, attempting to justify the doctrine of repudiation—a doctrine of which no terms which language affords are too strong to express our abhorrence. Still the charge of repudiation is one to which certain of the States, and not the nation, as such, is exposed,—a distinction which foreigners are not ready enough to make.

Among other topics treated by the writer, are the United States Bank; debts of the States; love of money; gravity of manners; slavery; Lynch law; success of our form of government; selfishness; dishonesty; coarseness of manners; tyranny of public opinion; security of property; elections; popular violence; mobs; strength of the government; general results of our experiment; and growing attachment to the Union. The writer does not attempt to defend what is indefensible, nor to palliate dishonesty. He manifests a strong love of justice, and

honorable and elevated feelings. His pamphlet, if read abroad, would have the effect, certainly of making the case of our country better understood, and perhaps of rendering Europeans somewhat less indiscriminate in their censure.

We are gratified to learn that the sale of this Letter has been such as to demand a second edition, which will appear in a few days, with the name of the author, Mr. Thomas G. Cary, of this city.

L.

---

*The Kingdom of God. A Sermon, preached at the Ordination of John Pierpont Jr., as Pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Lynn, October 11, 1843. By Rev. CALEB STETSON. With the Charge, by Rev. JOHN PIERPONT. Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. J. T. SARGENT. Address to the People, by Rev. CONVERS FRANCIS, D. D. Lynn. 1843. 8vo. pp. 30.*

THESE are fresh, stirring, earnest performances. Whether or not some of the views are too highly colored, and the statements occasionally overcharged, is not a question we feel any disposition to discuss. Strong, ardent feeling does not deal much in critical analysis, but talks "right on," pouring out its own fervid utterances as they come up from the depths of the soul, without qualifying phrase, or formal definition.

The Sermon by Mr. Stetson, like all his performances, shows an active, vigorous mind, and great sincerity and warmth of feeling. The "Reign of God" in the world — its present imperfect establishment — what are the prospects of its coming — and what we can do to hasten it — constitute his topics. In the course of his remarks he speaks of the selfishness of the age, the need of reform, and the signs of the speedy coming of a better era. Whether his readers should or should not go along with him in all his views — and they are not *ultra* — they will give him credit, at least, for avoiding denunciation and abuse, which form the staple of so much of the eloquence of the day.

L.

---

*Dedication with Joy. A Sermon, delivered at the Dedication of the New Meetinghouse of the First Congregational Society in Charlestown, N. H., Nov. 8, 1843. By J. CROSBY, Pastor of the Society. Keene. 1843. 8vo. pp. 12.*

THE idea which runs through this Discourse — dedication with joy — appears to us a happy one, accordant with the Christian spirit, and growing directly out of the religious nature of man. The hallowed associations which gather around the house of worship, — dedicated to the Universal Father, to Chris-



tian liberty, to a spirit of love and peace, — naturally connect themselves with joy and gladness — the joy of faith and hope, ever pointing upward to the home of the purified soul. The Discourse is written in a pure and perspicuous style, and in a tone which must have been felt to harmonize with the occasion, with the feelings of devout hearts, and the divine breathings of a Gospel of love. L.

---

*The Christian Doctrine of Consecration. A Sermon preached to the Society worshipping in the First Congregational Church, Quincy, on Sunday, November 19, 1843. By their Minister, WILLIAM P. LUNT. Quincy. 1843. 8vo. pp. 16.*

THIS discourse was prepared in the usual course of ministerial duty, and contains sound instruction. From the text, "It is Corban, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me," Mark vii. 11, Mr. Lunt treats of the various evasions of moral duty, in different ages, under pretence of religion, or the performance of religious rites — rites often founded on mistaken piety or superstition. He then speaks of true Christian consecration, as regards one's property, time, affections, and person, or life. The sermon is marked by that purity of style which distinguishes all Mr. Lunt's performances. L.

---

*Sermon preached November 26, 1843, at the Ordination of Mr. Dexter Clapp, over the Unitarian Church at Savannah, Ga. By HENRY W. BELLOWES, Minister of the First Congregational Church in New York. With the Charge, by SAMUEL GILMAN, D. D. of Charleston, S. C. New York. 1843. 8vo. pp. 32.*

WE welcome this Discourse from the extreme South with no ordinary pleasure. Mr. Bellows feelingly laments that a theme was forced upon him by circumstances, which he would not otherwise have chosen. He would gladly forget, if he could, that the Church throughout the world was not sympathising with the joy inspired by the occasion. But this was impossible. "We cannot," says he, "if we would, banish the reflection that we are greatly isolated in this day's business; that there is something which divides between us and the great body of believers." What this is, he goes on to state. He considers Unitarians alone as following out the true Protestant principle — as in fact the only genuine and consistent Protestants. This proposition he illustrates at some length.

But there is a truth, he says, "lying deeper than the right of private judgment, and which indeed is the foundation of that right, and the centre upon which turns the whole theological controversy of our times. The right of private judgment has its basis in the worth of the individual man." Starting from this point, the worth of "*man as man*," he proceeds to speak of the influence of Unitarian and Orthodox views of human nature, as favorable or unfavorable to "human progress and individual growth," in other words, to the "freedom and salvation of the individual man" — to his "salvation from ignorance and sin; from intellectual and moral death." We will not attempt to give a view of the variety of his topics and illustrations; nor will our space allow us to speak particularly of the excellent Charge by Dr. Gilman.

L.

---

*The Present.* No's 1, 2, 3, and 4. New York: W. H. Channing, Editor and Proprietor. 1843. 8vo. 36 pp. in each number.

THEY who have seen this "little Monthly," as the editor modestly calls it, in his "Introduction," will not need to be told what we have just said, — that it is published in New York, where the first number was issued in September last; that it is under the editorial management of Rev. William H. Channing; and that its aim is, and will be, "to aid all movements which seem fitted to produce union and growth in religion, science, and society." "It will seek to reconcile faith and free inquiry, law and liberty, order and progress; to harmonize sectarian and party differences by statements of universal principles, and to animate hopeful efforts on all sides to advance the reign of Heaven on earth." As we have looked into its pages, it has seemed to us to be full of hearty and significant words; to be animated by a most humane, sympathizing and manly spirit; and to set forth its views with frankness and independence. Topics relating to social amelioration are more prominent than any others, though there is such variety as to include fiction and verse, sketches and fables. We do not find the *Present*, though inclined to favor Fourierism, to be the professed organ of the friends of the doctrine of Association in this country. That office belongs rather to the *Phalanx*. For our own part, we should value this periodical, and greet its appearance with a welcome, if for no other reason, yet because it affords a channel through which its able and true-hearted editor can communicate with his fellow-men at large. It is hardly necessary to say that our views, in relation to many of the topics he so earnestly discusses, do not coincide with his. If they did, our efforts, of

course, would not be directed as they are at present. But we believe there are evils, real and deeply-seated, in society as it is; and while we contribute our own exertions for their gradual removal, we will not fail to admire the purity of purpose and loftiness of aim that distinguish the labors of such men as Mr. Channing. Perhaps there might be some improvement in *The Present* in definiteness of statement, and clearness of expression.

H.

*Matins and Vespers; with Hymns and Occasional Devotional Pieces.* By JOHN BOWRING. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1844. 32mo. pp. 228.

THIS book is a little gem in its way. Of the beautiful devotional poetry it contains, we need not speak; it is familiar to the lips and to the hearts of multitudes. Bowring's *Matins and Vespers* has taken its place among the classics of this kind of poetry. There is a peculiar sweetness and charm in many of the pieces which compose the volume, that must lead a person who has once looked into it to wish again and again to recur to it. We like to see such poetry clothed in a garment befitting its intrinsic worth. This little pocket edition, printed by George Coolidge, presents an agreeable appearance to the eye, and it gives us pleasure to notice it, both for the merit of the poetry and the beauty of the typography.

L.

*Daily Manna for Christian Pilgrims.* By BARON STOW. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1844. 24mo., pp. 128.

THIS is another volume from the same press, and executed in the same beautiful style of typography. It is a sort of Manual, containing a text for every day in the year, accompanied with suggestions showing how to use the passage or to what sort of inquiries or reflections it should lead, and followed by a stanza or couplet, from a psalm or hymn, — the text, directions for the use of it, and the poetry occupying from eight to twelve lines. The poetry is, for the most part, of the most ordinary kind of devotional poetry, and the book is evidently made for persons of Orthodox belief. There is much in it to which we should object, but there are many, no doubt, among those whose views harmonize with those of the author, to whom the volume will prove highly acceptable.

L.

\* \* \* Several Notices, which we had prepared, we are compelled by want of room to defer.



## INTELLIGENCE.

## ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

*Ministers and Churches.*—The frequent changes in the ministry, which have marked the last few years, have had an effect upon the relation of the clergy to the people which we cannot but lament. It has lessened their professional influence, and weakened the sympathies which in any case should bind a people to their minister. The minister now seldom feels that he has found a home for life, and the people are ready for slight cause to dissolve a connexion which they have learned not to regard as permanent. We trust that the evil has reached its height. Several of our churches are now destitute of pastors, as Taunton, Nantucket, Cabotville and Barnstable. In Boston two of our congregations are without ministers—that worshipping at King's Chapel, and the Hawes Society at South Boston. Our other churches here and in the immediate neighborhood, with the exception of Waltham and East Lexington, are now supplied with pastors. The "Second Church" in this city, under Rev. Mr. Robbins, have voted to take down their old meetinghouse in Hanover Street, and to erect on the same spot an edifice whose style of architecture shall be ornamental to the city. The "Church of the Disciples," under Rev. Mr. Clarke, finding Amory Hall, which they have used as their place of worship for several months, both inconvenient and too small for their purpose, now hold their services—on Sunday morning and evening—in the Masonic Temple. Our churches in other parts of the country are in a healthful condition.

*Increase of Churches in Boston.*—The growth of population in this city calls for constant addition to the number of churches. The Mayor, in his late Inaugural Address, states that the increase of population in Boston since it became a city, in 1822, or in twenty-two years, has been 145 per cent.; it being then 45,000, and now being estimated at 110,000. Most of the religious denominations appear to feel the obligation which is laid upon them to extend the means of religious instruction. The "Mount Vernon Church," gathered a year or two since by Rev. Mr. Kirk, have just taken possession of their new meetinghouse in Somerset Court. It is a large and commodious building. In consequence of some dissension in Rev. Mr. Towne's Society, at the north part of the city, a division has taken place, and Mr. Towne has begun to collect a new congregation in one of the halls of the Tremont Temple. This building, which was formerly the Tremont Theatre, has been remodelled in the interior, and now, besides other rooms, affords a large and convenient chapel for the use of the Baptist church under the care of Rev. Mr. Colver. A new Universalist Society has been formed, and taken a lease of the Chardon Street Chapel. We observe however, that the Marlboro' church, which formerly met at the Marlboro' Chapel, "has been dis-

solved,"—a singular fact, and not without its significance to those who know the origin and history of that church.

---

*Clerical Controversy.*—Rev. Dr. Wainwright of the Episcopal, and Rev. Dr. Potts of the Presbyterian Church, in New York, are engaged in a controversy upon the question—whether there can be a Church without a Bishop—a question, as Dr. Johnson might say, of lexicographical importance. As a matter of fact, so far as any earthly or spiritual purpose is concerned, Dr. Potts has all the advantage on his side, and it is altogether a gratuitous kindness in him to demolish Episcopal pretension for the benefit of idle spectators or curious readers. As for the effect which discussions conducted in this way have upon seriously minded persons, who in consequence of their being seriously disposed have already taken a position with one side or the other, we suppose they turn conviction into obstinacy and prejudice into passion. The present controversy grew out of remarks made by Dr. Wainwright at the annual dinner of the New England Society in New York, after an Address by Hon. Mr. Choate, in which he had spoken of the Puritans as exhibiting the spectacle of a State without a King, and a Church without a Bishop. Dr. Wainwright maintained that the latter clause was a contradiction in terms, and expressed his readiness to prove this on any proper occasion. Dr. Potts accepts the challenge, and after some preliminary correspondence respecting the mode of conducting the discussion, the parties have entered upon the merits of the case in a series of letters published by each writer in the *Commercial Advertiser*—a political journal, of respectable character, in the city of New York.

We observe in one of the religious papers notice of a discussion recently held at Lexington, Ky., between Rev. Alexander Campbell, the head of the sect called Campbellites, and Rev. Mr. Rice, of the Presbyterian Church, "on the principal points which distinguish the former from the latter." The "Moderators" are said to have been Hon. Henry Clay, Chief Justice Robertson, and Col. J. S. Smith. The paper from which we derive our information remarks, with some point, that "both parties beat." The result of such discussions usually is, that each party claims the victory.

---

*Ordinations.*—Two Ordinations only, that come within our record, occurred in the month of December.

Mr. MARTIN W. WILLIS, from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the "Town Congregational Society" in WALPOLE, N. H., December 6, 1843. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Waterson of Boston, from Matthew xvi. 19; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Livermore of Keene, N. H.; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Mr. Crosby of Charlestown, N. H., Rev. Mr. Brown of Brattleboro', Vt., and Rev. Mr. Leonard of Dublin, N. H.

Mr. FREDERIC HINCKLEY, from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the Unitarian Society in WINDSOR, Vt., December 13, 1843. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston; the

Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Thomas of Concord, N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Willis of Walpole, N. H.; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Brown of Brattleboro', Vt; and the other services, by Elder Hazen, Rev. Mr. Nightingale of Athol, and Rev. Mr. Sweet of Pomfret, Vt.

Rev. WILLIAM WARE, late editor of the *Christian Examiner*, has taken charge of the Society in WEST CAMBRIDGE, of which the late Rev. David Damon was minister.

---

#### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*Brownson's Quarterly Review.*—The most remarkable occurrence in our literary world is the reappearance of Mr. Brownson's Review, with even more of his peculiar mental character impressed upon its pages than formerly, since now it is exclusively his,—bearing his name, and presenting the productions of his pen alone. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Brownson's opinions or changes of opinion, no one can deny the earnestness and industry of his mind, his power and skill as a writer, or the courageous and almost reckless independence with which he throws his views before the public. It is the freshness and force of his convictions, whatever for the time they may be, with his mastery of the English language, which gives to his writings an attraction which those who differ from him widely in his philosophical or theological speculations need not be reluctant to acknowledge. He has written himself into notice, and will probably exert a considerable influence upon the scientific investigation of the subjects which he handles. His connexion with the *Democratic Review*, having been found mutually inconvenient, has been dissolved, and he now appears in the freedom and strength of his own spirit. The first number of his *Quarterly* shows the versatility of his mind as well as the activity of his pen. Philosophy, religion and politics alike come under his survey, and in each of these departments of thought questions with which ordinary writers might feel some hesitation at grappling are discussed both with ability and with zest. From many of Mr. Brownson's conclusions we dissent, and upon some of the ideas which it is his present aim to unfold we should not agree with him, but we are glad to see him engaged in giving a manly and high tone to thought in our community. He occupies very different ground from that which he maintained only two or three years since. He is anxious indeed to charge upon the misapprehension of others, rather than upon any change in himself, the apparent difference in his position; but whether it be that he thinks more justly or that he writes more clearly, he seems to be a sounder man, and we of course welcome his Journal without that distrust of the influence it will exert, which we once might have felt.

---

*American Monthly Literature.*—We feel ourselves compelled at the earliest opportunity to express our disapprobation of the character which is borne by many of our popular magazines, and of the man-



ner in which they are conducted. When we consider how much they might do in elevating the character of our literature and in nourishing a taste for profitable reading, we are grieved and disgusted at the amount of idle, ephemeral, useless fiction which they pour out upon the country. That their pages are free from a positively immoral influence, does not entitle them to commendation. It only saves them from a heavier charge than that to which they are now liable, and which is heavy enough. They injure the intellectual character of their readers; they create a taste for the very weakest and poorest mental aliment; they in fact enfeeble instead of strengthening the mind, and dissipate instead of refreshing or expanding the sensibilities. We lament this the more, because we see the names of some of our estimable writers used to sanction this abuse of the public favor. The contributions which such writers furnish should indicate a just sense of the value of periodical literature, and not exhibit that miserable dilution of talent which reduces them to a level with the articles without pith or point — the worthless tales and showy prattle — in company with which they are found. We rejoice that there are publications of the class we are noticing, which seem to have some other object than to obtain "the largest circulation," and show a wish to benefit those whom they reach. But of those which pay their female subscribers, particularly, the poor compliment of offering them "embellishments" as a compensation for the want of instructive matter, we can speak only in terms of remonstrance and condemnation.

---

*New Works.* — Several valuable works have recently been published in this city, which we hope hereafter to notice more at length. Besides Mr. Norton's additional Volumes on the "Genuineness of the Gospels," mentioned in the last number of the *Examiner*, and Mr. Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico," which every body has read or means to read, two volumes of Sermons selected from the manuscripts of the late Dr. Greenwood have appeared, with a Memoir prepared by his friend, Mr. Eliot; Rev. James Martineau's "Endeavors after the Christian Life," a volume of practical discourses, has been reprinted from the English edition; Rev. Dr. Flint, of Salem, has published a small collection of Sermons designed for young persons, under the title of "A Present from a Pastor to his Young Parishioners;" Mr. James R. Lowell has issued a new volume of Poems. A second edition of Mr. Waterston's "Thoughts on Spiritual Culture" has just been printed.

Among the publications which we find at the booksellers, we have been particularly attracted by the *Illuminated and New Pictorial Bible*, of which the Harpers have just issued the first number, in 24 pages of a large quarto size. It is highly creditable to the enterprise and taste of the Publishers. It is printed on fine paper, with a clear type, and with marginal ornaments executed on wood, but in a style worthy of commendation. It is the most *beautiful* edition of the Bible ever undertaken in this country, and is put at a price of which no one ought to complain. It will be completed "in about fifty numbers," at twenty-five cents each. It is free from note or comment, except the titles of the chapters, and contains a column of marginal references between the two columns of text on every page.

*Works in Preparation.* — The late Dr. Ware, it is known, had made considerable progress in preparing a Memoir of Dr. Noah Worcester, the author of "Bible News," and the Apostle of Peace. After Dr. Ware's death the unfinished work was put into the hands of one of Dr. Worcester's family, by whom it has been completed, and will soon be published.

Materials are accumulating for the Memoir of Rev. Dr. Channing, which will be prepared by one bearing his name and competent to do justice to the high theme with which Providence has entrusted him. It will be many months, however, before the work will be ready for the press.

A Memoir of Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., D. D. is in course of preparation by one fully competent to the sacred office he has undertaken. Some time must elapse before it can be given to the public. We trust it will be found that selections may be made from the papers left by Dr. Ware, to furnish a volume of unpublished matter from his pen. Why might not his various writings already published be collected into one or more volumes, for the use of his friends and the benefit of those by whom they have not yet been read?

Professor Sparks has in preparation the first volume of a new series of American Biography. It will contain Lives written by Mr. Sparks and Mr. A. H. Everett.

The *Law Reporter* of this city announces that Hon. Daniel Webster "is engaged on a history of the origin of the Federal Constitution and the administration of Washington."

---

#### MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*National Affairs.* — To one who looks at the financial interests or physical prosperity of the country we suppose its present state must be a subject of gratification. Throughout a large part of the Union business has recovered from the prostration with which it was overwhelmed two or three years ago, and affords sufficient encouragement to the enterprising or the industrious to engage in the accumulation of property. Now, emphatically, is the time to be honest; individuals and communities should now make provision for the payment of their debts. This we believe will be done immediately by some, and eventually it must be done by all. If principle and honor will not keep men and States from reducing the theory of "repudiation" to practice, a sense of interest — mere worldly interest — will compel them to save their characters from utter ruin. This too is a time to exercise caution and self-control. The temptations to an unsafe and immoral use of credit will revive, and they who shall "make haste to be rich" will probably find that the laws of Providence are too strong for them to break. Integrity and moderation should be preached now, in the pulpit, and at the corners of the streets.

Our political condition just now is comparatively tranquil. The great parties into which the country is divided are preparing to measure their strength, rather than actually engaged in the struggle for power. Some elections are past, and others are too distant to

enkindle as yet much warm feeling. In this time of relief from the fury of party strife, cannot religion speak with effect through its ministers, and call the people to a higher view of political privilege and a more just and solemn sense of political responsibility?

Congress are in session; and have been in session several weeks, as usual, without doing any thing but — talk and propose things to be done. One important occurrence however should be noted. Mr. Adams, the unconquerable champion of the right of petition, has succeeded in forcing Southern members from the ground which in previous sessions they have taken on this subject, and obtained the appointment of a Committee, of which he is chairman, to report on the relations of the General Government to the question of Slavery. We presume the only result will be, to establish the right of petition, and to lessen the influence of the South in Congress.

---

*Massachusetts.* — The State Government in Massachusetts for the present year has been organized in all its branches. The party last in office has given place to the party which they had displaced. Such examples of the instability of power under our institutions, one would think, might teach some useful lessons; but people are as slow to draw instruction from the insecurity of political as from the uncertainty of the natural life.

---

*Fourier Convention.* — A Convention was held in this city, the first week in January, which continued its sessions for four days, for the purpose of discussing the plan of social organization proposed by Fourier, and other schemes based on the principle of associated industry. The Communities at Brook Farm in West Roxbury, at Hopedale in Mendon, at Northampton on Connecticut river, and at Skeneateles in New York, and also, we believe, the Sylvania Community in Pennsylvania, were represented. There was much earnest discussion, with some very good and some very poor speaking, but less of harmony and good temper than we were prepared to find. A considerable part of the discussion turned upon the right to hold individual property; Mr. Collins, from Skeneateles, denying this right, and contending single-handed against the talent and reproach that were brought to bear upon him. Two parties obviously composed the Convention, representing respectively the principles of Community, and of Association. Messrs. George Ripley, Adin Ballou, J. H. Collins, W. H. Channing, Albert Brisbane, W. L. Garrison, O. A. Brownson, A. B. Alcott, besides others of less note or less ability, took part in the proceedings. On the whole, we suppose that they by whom the meetings were called were satisfied with their character. Plainly as we see, and deeply as we lament the evils of society as it now exists, we believe improvement must come from individual fidelity to Christian principles, rather than from any social organization. Society will come right, when all its members are right.

---

\* \* \* Obituary articles, which were in type, we are obliged to omit.